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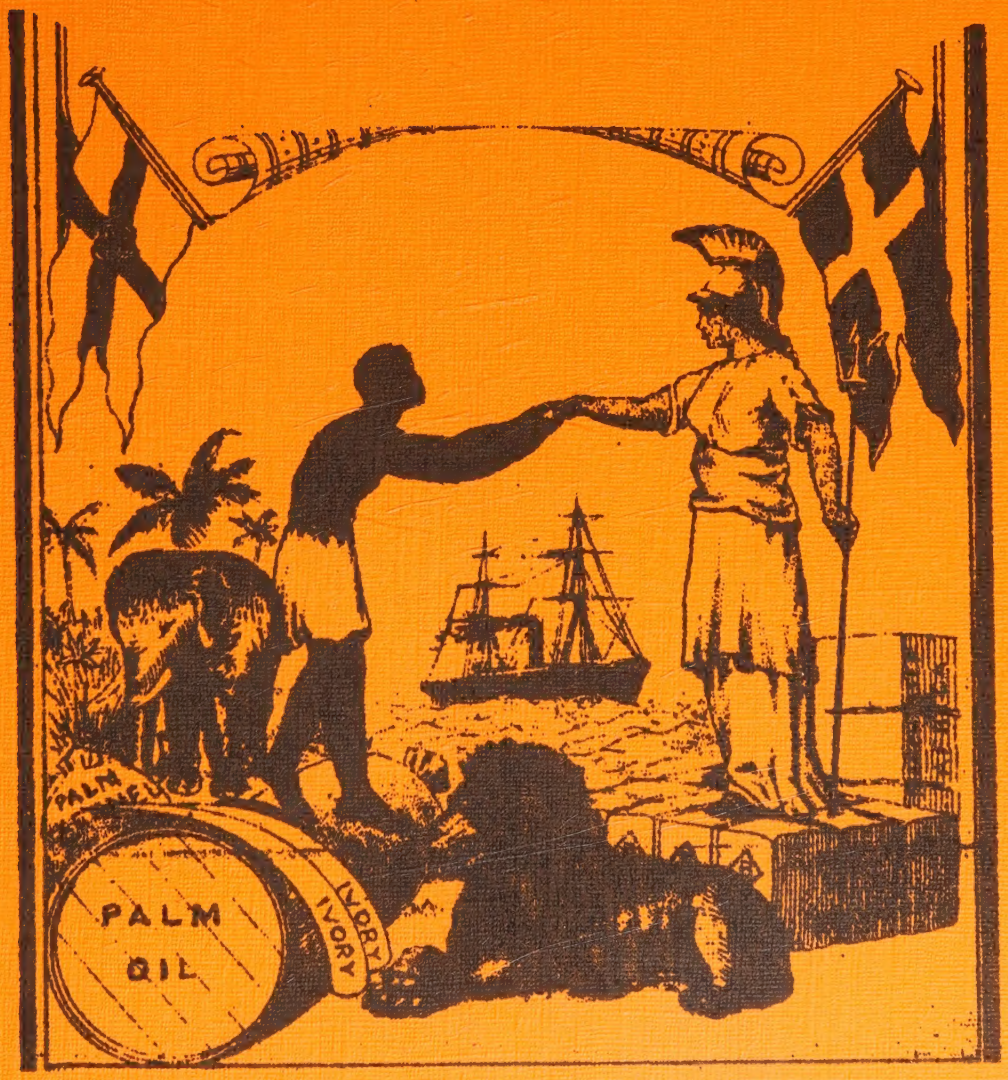
THE IMAGES OF AFRICA IN SWEDEN BEFORE 1914

"A STUDY OF SIX TYPES OF PERSUASIVE IDEAS"



LUND 1979

1980

To the

memory of

my Late Father

The Reverend Umenwa Simon Mbaekwe

"The study of the image of Africa in the social sciences is like the act of choreography in which different actors portray the same image of Romeo & Juliet in the international theatre-halls of Berlin, Copenhagen,London,Moscow,New York, and Paris,but with different emotion" Mbaekwe

'Books are not absolute things,but do contain a potency of life in them.' Milton

" The essential nature of scientific research is also an important problem in communication.Logic is a vital aspect of science,but equally essential is the intuitive." Keller

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CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION

The immediate aim of this study is to analyze certain images+) of Africa which were presented to the Swedish public before 1914. It is hoped that the findings will add to our historical knowledge. However, the orientation of the study has also led to a search for a general theoretical perspective in which an analysis of images could be placed, and this has resulted in an extensive exploration of social science theory.

The analysis of the empirical material which is to be utilized in this thesis is based on a conceptual framework. Within this context, the material used have been divided into six different categories which we shall call images.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Having as its subjective-matter the views or notions held and propagated by certain groups and individuals, this study is idea-analysis, more precisely an examination of the structure and persuasive functions of those idea-complexes which we have termed images. Identification of different images and the comparisons between them are important tasks.

Starting out from the actors by emphasizing their particular conceptions the study is primarily phenomenological; It tries to reconstruct and explain a set of social facts such as, subjective facts.

+) Images: In our present study of images we have followed Boulding's advice that we operate with the concept of an inventory of images. But the six different types of the structural images are only derived from the empirical materials which are utilized in the thesis. The images which are to be studied here have certain dimension, or quality, of certainty or uncertainty, probability or improbability, clarity or vagueness. Our images of the world are not uniformly certain, uniformly probable, or uniformly clear. Messages may also have the contrary effect. They may introduce doubt or uncertainty into the image.
For instance, the noise of carpenters has just stopped, but one's watch tells him it is about four-thirty. This has thrown a certain amount of confusion into one's mental image. One was under the impression that the carpenters stopped work at five o'clock. Here is a message which contradicts that impression. What is one to believe? Unfortunately,

But inevitably it is also confronted with the problem of assessing objective facts. By tradition the role of science has been to depict what is real and concrete. The role of the science of history had as well been to explicate the concrete past reality;"Wie es eigentlich" as it is often classically expressed.[1)]

By the means of historic method one attempts to get behind the evaluations and distortions of the sources in search of objective facts. This has been important task but it is equally important to reconstruct and explain subjective social facts by the means of the historical sociological method, that is, by examining this social facts in the records of society.

In order to explore the knowledge of human actions it is not sufficient to direct one's research to the area of objective social facts alone. As a matter of fact, it is not only the reality or facts as such that is decisive in our actions,but it is also our cumulative knowledge,and our subjective interpretation of it.[2)]

A form of historical has appeared to be the most suitable method of balancing the conflicting demands. In terms of general theory this study posits that the concept of a communication process is the most fruitful framework for an analysis of images. This proposition has been deemed to justify a rather comprehensive presentation and elaboration of such a model.Owing to limitations in the material the empirical analysis will concern only parts of the model

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there are two possible ways of integrating the message into one's image.One can believe that one was mistaken in thinking that the carpenters left work at five o'clock and that in fact their day ends at four-thirty.Or,one can believe that one's watch is wrong.Either of these two modifications of one's image gives meaning of the message. One could not know for certain which is the right time,however,untill one has an opportunity of comparing one's watch with a timepiece or with some other source of time which could be regarded as more reliable.The impact of messages on the certainty of time may have the effect of clarifying what the exact time is, of making something which previously was regarded as less certain more certain,or something which was previously seen in a vague way clearer.See: K.E.Boulding (1956) The image p.10

The six categories of images which we are studying are namely, the affectional image, the literary image, the ethnographic image, the value socializing image,the relational image and finally the political image.

1.1 SURVEY OF CONTENTS

This work is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter and the second chapter are introductory.Chapter three is labelled the theoretical level and contains an overview of the social-psychological aspects and some relevant topics in analytical philosophy.At the psychological level a model of attitudes and opinions will also include the roles of opinion leaders,vertical and horizontal, and their respective roles and effects on the process of communication. It is an established fact in the psychology of communication that whenever there tends to be a conservative influence in the media,attitude change occurs in the political environment.

In chapter four we present a communication model of analysis.Here most of our empirical materials will be fully analyzed. As our approach is articulated into an actor oriented approach,we will use a communication model in order to be able to illustrate the importance of our empirical materials as well.

Our empirical analysis will start from chapter five. The source materials which comprise mainly school and educational books,narratives of travels,literary and ethnographic literature,mission literature, and daily newspapers will be used in what we have termed as six categories of sources will provide material for the images. The classification scheme and the analytical dimensions of the empirical materials are fully worked out in chapter five.

In the affectional image, here the mission literature is used and the groups that shaped these images were largely missionaries.Various techniques will be used in our inquiry.Within the affectional groups images we shall review their persuasive argument-ideas in the following aspects.The techniques in the description of African's natural back-

grounds within the means-end chain of preferences. Their political strategic techniques in the characterization of Africans.[3] An appraisal of the Africans in the affectional images. The category of objectives which will be used in the analysis is termed middle range goals[4] which to a very large extent concided with those of imperialism, and the policy of divide and rule. Other topics include European missionaries and the African christians, an appraisal of civil culture and the political system. Lastly, the affectional images are studied in its strategic views on polygamy and on the African religion.

In the examination of the literary and ethnographic images the distribution of materials on Africa[5] in five chosen sources will be made in the following areas, religion, regional differences and political system. This analysis will be supplemented by a study of some ramification of the debates on the African natural backgrounds on Europeans in Africa, and over the debates on the African character and culture.

The study of the value socializing image will assist us in exploring the principles of orientations about Africa and African's as a political strategy sought by the shapers of the value images in terms of cultural sensitivity and ethnocentricism. Other concrete aspects that will be discussed will include their views on the natural and political backgrounds and on the African religion.

Our approach will be to examine the expressive, prescriptive and interrogative arguments[6] in the relational image in their respective frame of reference in order to classify statements but we shall not deal with their semantic function.

Finally, the analysis of the political image will contain a quantitative description of the coverage of African affairs in a number of Swedish newspapers and an analysis of political ideas in three case studies. The first two studies will show the extent of the Germanic influence over political thinking in Sweden during the period. The third study will reflect the type of interest that existed over

King Leopold's II of Belgium colonial policy in the Congo free-state torture affairs. Generally, the three studies will be descriptive and interpretative.

Starting with chapter six we will attempt to verify three assumptions which are based on certain central concepts, namely "race", "myth" and civilization. The child anology will also be reviewed with the sensitivity involved. Chapter seven will be reserved for explanation, findings and conclusion.

CHAPTER

1.2 SOURCE MATERIAL

The research method which is utilized in this study is that of historical sociology+) or that of phenomenological approach. In a sense all sociological research is historical in as much as sociologists record things which have happened or have been observed. The term historical sociology is, however, usually applied to the study of social facts which are more than fifty years old.[7] The present study falls in the category of historical sociology since the images being studied date from the time before the first world war.

It has been difficult to arrive at a chronological order by which the facts obtained could be coordinated. This has been due to the fact that the coordination has to be done by the researcher from the

+) Historical sociology: The social anthropologist examines social groups in contemporary simple societies; the historical sociologist examine them in the records of societies and cultures prior to his own. As such the historical sociology method one could say is equipped to deal with the reconstruction of social facts in both subjective and objective facts

sources where they are scattered around. Our empirical material have provided us with an opportunity to choose an approach that suits our own purpose.

The preparation of this thesis has involved much inquiry into several types of sources in the effort to gather scattered information to be used in the empirical analysis.In search for the materials for this thesis, the following sources have been consulted. To name just a few here, they are namely; Svensk Kyrkan tidsskrift, Ymer Tidskrift Svensk sällskapet för antropologi och geografi, Bitar för alla, Det interessanta bladet,Nordisk mission tidsskrift,Dansk tidsskrift, Swedish newspapers,Schwerin H.von; Manuscript department at the University of Lund.

The other sources include; International encyclopaedia of social sciences,Encyclopaedia Britannica and Salmonsens store illustrerede konversationsleksikon (red) Chr. Bangstrup.

The University libraries of Lund and Uppsala have been extensively consulted and used, and they have together provided the main material which has been used in this project. The lack of extensive sources has meant that the main sources by which relevant information relating to this study when obtained have not been sufficient indicators with regards to our quest for subjective facts in relationship to this study.When there tends to be some good indicators they have been through in several sources. For that reason we have had to rely on the most relevant sources as the main data.

In this thesis we will attempt to reveal the conception of the Swedes of Africa and its inhabitants before 1914. This thesis will be primarily occupied with an empirical analysis of the images held by certain groups in Sweden on Africa and the African's during the period 1905 - 1914.

1.2.1 SOURCE MATERIAL AND THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Our personal motive in this thesis is an attempt to shed some light on a relatively small area of this subjective facts.However,the theme of this subject should be viewed generally in the sense that the main interest is not restricted to a very narrow ares of attitudes of the political decision-makers.[1] This study could also be related to the wider area of "opinion-climate".This is an area where the opinion becomes meaningful in that it forms the base on which political-decisions are made with regard to most specific matters, such as the making of foreign policy and defence treaties.[2] We could designate this area as the propagandistic area but we shall not study it here.

The study of images in this work is intended to give perspective rather than truth.It presents the world as seen from a particular vantage point within a political system.

Attention will be primarily devoted to Africa south of Sahara as this area seems more suitable than the entire African continent.[3] North Africa has always been separated from the rest of the continent by the Sahara desert, that is, with respect to the following factors, climate, ethnicity, history and culture. In other words,as we write Africa unless otherwise stated the emphasis will be on Africa south of Sahara.Black Africa.

With regard to the period examined in this thesis there may seem to be some element of arbitrariness in the selection of the period that is being studied.Before 1905 there existed a union between the Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden and it might be argued that any study undertaken with the exclusion of Norwegian part would be incomplete and more falsifiable. Our view is,however, that an inclusion of Norwegian material would not result in a difference material enough to invalidate our decision to concentrate all our research efforts on the Swedish images.

For pratical reasons the Swedish index of books has been chosen as the main inventory of literature.[4)]
This index of books also began a new series for 1905, the very year the union between Norway and Sweden was terminated.Plausibly it contains almost all the relevant Swediah source materials; in the sense that at the turn of this century the number of printed books was not numerous if compared with the number of printed books that are printed seventy years from the year 1905. Perhaps with the exclusion of only a minor number of the Norwegian sources

The closing year of 1914 was chosen for obvious reasons. The first world war marked the end of an epoch in Africa as well as in Europe. The Europeans never regained in their old belief in the absolute superiority of their civilization.[5)]

As these conceptions could not be examined directly for example, they did not exist in so to speak ready-made packages, like election programs or the like. The only avaliable method would be a consultation of the writings of the period which could be assumed to have constituted the bases of these conceptions or images. The examined writings, with only very few exceptions, were published in the years 1905 - 1914.

Most of the books were published in several editions, some earlier and some later than the period under study. Thereby the period has been extended somewhat anterior to as well as posterior to the termini set for the thesis. Most of the books were in use for a longer period of time and therefore the period had been further extended. Conversely, if the exact limitations of the period should be arbitary it could still be assumed that the choice in essence is well founded.

The commencement of the colonial period is generally dated between the years 1884 and 1885.[6] In Africa the colonies were partitioned among the leading European powers. European influence was limited to small coastal enclaves but later it spread like wild fire, by the means of conquest within twenty-five years the whole continent was completely under the control of the leading European powers. The period of this thesis could be said to begin at the time when colonization started in Africa, that is from 1884.

CHAPTER 2. THE SITUATION OF THE PAST

In surveying prevailing conditions in Sweden one is compelled to stress the German influence particularly in the Swedish newspapers and the ideology of imperialism which was at an upward trend in Europe.[7] At the same time, in the period preceding World war I the political struggle in Sweden revolved around the issues of franchise, temperance and tariffs.[8] The problem of aquisition of vast colonies appear to have been evident in this era of imperialist ideology which carried with it the policies of protectionism among the leading European powers.

Economically, Sweden was in a transtional period of industralization. Structually and journastically the daily press could be said to be at a cross-road. Due to the policy of most conservative newspapers that drew heavily from German newspapers. Such as from "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", and Vorwart. The newspaper "circulation spiral" was well in a progressive development. With regard to their methods of informing the Swedish population about international politics.[9]

The period it could be assumed had marked the gateway and pinnacle in the relation between Europe and Africa in the area of international news exchanges between Germany newspapers and those of the Swedes.

As previously mentioned the political historian has to take the implicit or explicit bias of the source into account in order to get as close as possible to objective social facts.But in order to describe subjective social facts one has to proceed quite on the contrary by sorting out the cumulative objective and subjective social facts as well. In the case of this study this will be those objective social facts records as referred to in the method of historical sociology earlier in this work.

One's comprehension and conception of the past has to be compared with that approximation of objective social facts which the modern political historian according to my best intuitive judgement tries to attain in the area of this subjective social facts. We shall not be turning to any historiographic exploration here,nevertheless emphasis will be given to the central themes in the modern historigraphy of Africa in order to attain our main objective in getting to the subjective social facts.[10] Rational explanation in the sense suggested by Kai Nielson will be utilized in this work to tackle the problems of strategic political goals and motives that warranted actors to resort to the options which they finally took in resolving matters that are of importance to them.In this work an attempt to apply such a rational tool of explanation will be made in the analysis of the affectional image.

As the following part of this thesis will attempt to make clear the conception of Africa in the past was "eurocentric".Since the 1960's this eurocentricism has been changing as the African states have acheived their political independence.The number of African and European political historiographers who have dealt with the history of Africa before to the arrival of the Europeans had increased immensely. To name just only a few Dike[11] and Helley[12] are amongst the most popularly known historians in African studies.There works could be characterized as focussing on the traditional conditions of Africa-communities, that is, at the time when the African communities had not fallen victims to European colonization.

The colonial era has been viewed in a new perspective. The Africans are no longer looked upon as passive tools or objects for the actions of the Europeans but are rather seen as active partners and opponents.[13] In the past the conception of Africa served specific functions such as a defence of imperialist ventures. It ought to be borne in mind that also historiography is serving a political purpose. In other words it is used to assist in the construction of national pride and feeling in the newly independent African states.

On the other hand the modern research ought to be treated more critically in the effort to neutralize the bias of the past. More inquiry is under way and the effect of these inquiries could in effect be quite devastating as those of the past.[14]

2.1 AFRICA THROUGH EUROPEAN EYES

In searching for references to the topic of this thesis one will find that it is spread in various works about African history. Only very few of these studies has treated the European image of Africa and its inhabitants in a systematic manner.

As Britain ranks first among the European powers that for centuries have had close relations with Africa, it is natural that it is the British image of the African continent which has been quite predominant. We could thus, reasonably assume that the findings of various historians, or cultural and social anthropologists working on British source materials will also be applicable to the rest of western Europe.

In a short article Catherine George illustrated the historical and political developments in Africa up till 1880.[1] Professor Dorothy examined the image of Africa in the last quarter of nineteenth century.[2] On the other hand, there are two works on this subject which are quite extensive, those by Curtin on the image of Afica[3] and Cairns on the prelude to imperialism.[4] Curtin treats the period from 1780 to 1850

while Cairns deals with the period from 1840, to 1890. The areas of common interest ranges from the point at which Curtin tries to trace the image which the educated ruling class in Britain had of West Africa and its inhabitants in that period. Professor Curtin postulates that his method would assist in revealing all implied assumptions about Africa that rationally can be said to have led to certain policies towards Africa, which could be witnessed later.

Curtin's source materials are mainly scientific works and travel accounts while newspapers, fictions and mission literatures are hardly used at all. In other words, Curtin relies on what could be regarded as the most abstract and logically consistent sources. However, this is rather unfortunate because one of Curtins findings was that there has been a change in the attitude towards Africa during the period of his study. Pausibly it could just as well be assumed that some other factors, such as changes within the British society have converged in the same positive direction. In a way by drawing from the sources of other group of authors, this will assist in the illustration of the effects of these factors which could also be valid for all the other groups of authors.

On the other hand, Cairns draws primarily on sources of the colonial administrators, explorers and missionaries. The image which she portrays is based on the activities of British frontiermen in Africa, rather than those of the British public. At the same time it is clear that this literature had enomous impact on the minds of Britions at the time. Therefore the history of the European African images can be said to be more or less explored, though large parts appear rather sketchy.

The Europeans of the antiquity had only a poor knowledge of Africa and the few accounts of this part of the world emphasized the babarians[5] or "savages". In the middle ages knowledge about Africa was only obtained through secondhand accounts, but with the big expeditions at the end of the period the picture was abruptly changed, and by 1500 the

whole outline of Africa's coast became known.[6]
At the same time the bases for the stereotypes which came to mark the descriptions of the continent and its inhabitants for the coming centuries were laid down. The African tribal societies came to be regarded as brutish or savage[7] in essence because they lacked such institutions which the Europeans thought was the only adequate avanue to human development,such institutions like the christian mirrages,christian church or religious virtures in a European frame of reference.

In the beginning the European pattern of culture was regarded as normative and every foreign culture was measured against this pattern. As the era of the enlightenment approached the reports on Africa became less prejudiced and accuracy increased.Most explorers were better educated than earlier and they primarily travelled to Africa for the purpose of studying the African ways of life for the colonial administration and for scientific observations.[8]

By the end of the eighteenth century the knowledge about Africa had increased considerably and this trend has continued up to the present date.[9] However,after the Napoleonic wars the interest in Africa was at the lowest point.The abolition of slave-trade in 1807 seriously decreased the profits of the British merchants and difficulties were encounted in obtaining a substitute for the "black gold" of slavery.[10] During the same period the British feelings of self-esteem and superiority suddenly increased with the consolidation of the industrial revolution and the Evangelist revival movement particularly in their success in Africa where evangalism established roots.[11] In the period between 1800 and 1850 the interior of Africa was discovered,but the explorers were no longer recognized according to individual education but the criteria were individual capacity for enduring hardship and love for adventure.

Their accounts were mainly written in order to satisfy the curiosity and the need for entertainment of the reading public,and therefore were marked by the prejudices which the explorers brought along from

their home country in Europe.[12)]

The first missionaries were sent to Africa in this period and their writing was only to fulfill the expectations of the readers including the members of church congregations who were often influential members of the political system. These first missionary accounts have been interpreted to be fund-raising...'.[13)] The savagery and paganism of the Africans were therefore in the process painted in dark colours in order to emphasize the necessity of missionary activities.

Despite the fact that enormous streams of books about Africa were published in this period 1800 - 1850 the real facts about African continent were still lacking.Not the least this was the case in the field of anthropology.Such real facts included the fact that the Africans were no Europeans,but were Africans with a culture as ancient as man. Therefore, for the Europeans to think that their own culture was the only standard for the development of man became a barrier to a true understanding.Indeed a common belief in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century that all relevant and important facts had been gathered about the African continent.This belief persisted and was largely responsible for the distortion of the image that was drawn of Africa.[14)]

The European always was cast as the principal character in the literature about Africa no matter whether he played the role of the fearless explorer or of a heroic missionary.The Africans were reduced to a secondary,anonymous and insignificant part.Often when the Africans were portrayed they were designated as the faithful followers, pagan savages or as simple objects for the acts of salvation of the mission.[15)]The common attitude towards the Africans at that period was that they should be civilized,in other words that they should be converted to the European culture which was believed by the Europeans themselves to be universal. The immediate political strategy of European imperialist ventures took the shape of the so-called

"informal empire" which was consolidated in the area for dumping the industrial manufactured goods. By this the Europeans could exert their influence without having to make conquests.

But the last quarter of the nineteenth century brought about a steady tightening of the attitude towards the Africans. Various racist ideas prospered. It was frequently emphasised that it was the duty of the Europeans to be the sole regents of the underdeveloped nations and of the "lower-races" who only in the very long run could gain equal rights with the Europeans. The regency implied for the Europeans that the colonies should be looked upon as "protectorates" meaning that the colonial powers was really fiduciary and that its raison d'etre was protection of the inhabitants. The British often preferred to regard colonialism as a "mandate" to help backward peoples whereas the French, the Portuguese and Belgiums saw it as a civilizing mission or "tutelage"

It could be assumed that such a set of ideas is dependent solely on a sense of superiority+) which was asserted by Europeans antropologists who never faced any criticisms.(and so were in a sense able to eat their bread and have it, which is usually not the case today.)

Starting with the tentative question of which people in history have not glorified their past? Ochieng reviewed the history of the major European countries such as the Soviet Union, Germany and Britain. Ochieng substantiated his critical reasoning with the following reference.

> "Russians nationalists as Karamazini and Dostoevsky have in reaction to European technological and cultural superiority

+)In an article in Africa no 20 April (1973) Ideology in African history, William Ochieng confirms these sets of ideas of European superiority.

> idealized the rural slave as the "perfect man",and have extravagantly prognosticated that Russia would be the founder of a new civilization and the bearer of universal salvation."[16]

The above illustrations some critics would say,only applied to some Russian ideas.Our reply is that the Russian ideas well represented European mental thinking at the beginning of the twentieth century, and so only serves as a sample of our illustration.

The same reference of "European superiority" could be attributed to the similar claims of men like Mazzini who had claimed that Italy would assume moral leadership in the regeneration of man, the moral leadership as supremacy in technology and culture. When they assumed power the German nationalists were influenced by philosophers like Herder,Fichte and Hegel.They believed that the German nation,once united,could form the vanguard of world civilization. On the British side men like Winston Churchill emphasised that London was the centre of the universe.Even at the time when most of the states in Africa south of Sahara were still under colonial domination.Hitler carried the philosophy of Germinic purity and superiority to a point of madness.

The above exposition is intended to illustrate the exaggerated nationalist feelings which were carried into Africa in the form of European adventurism.There the only possible motive would have been to expamd imperialism irrespective of whether the main drives was to spread a new civilization.

The colonial period in the history of Africa was starting.Streams of books about the African continent and its inhabitants were published. The number of people that actually occupied themselves with Africa is estimated by Dorothy Helley not have exceeded one hundred and fifty.[17] Furthermore, their activity was not overwhelming.Only at the time of the Uganda campaign in 1892, the British utilized an effective propaganda in the description of the campaign for the British public opinion.

Neither in France nor in Germany were the groups that took active interest in Africa very numerous. In France they consisted mainly of intellectuals and financial interests led by the former explorer Sovorgan de Brazza. The intellectuals condemned the expansionist policy of France in Africa,but the financial circles were silent over the question of taking sides. In Germany, on the contrary,the groups were mostly merchants and business men.[18)]

It would appear that the evaluation of the Africans reached a lowpoint at the turn of the century.Africans were placed at the bottom of the ladder of human evolution. All that was related to the Africans ranging from their political institutions and their religion to their physical appearance seemed to be in contrast to that of the white Anglo-Saxon counterparts.[19)]

At the same time it was common to measure the evolutionary and cultural stage of a nation by its technological production and exactly in this period of history Britain undisputably was the leading nation in the technological field, and the British population were very much aware of their nations potential.[20)] In the propaganda of some groups for a policy of imperialist expansion in Africa, the arguments were often of a philosophical and idealist nature.These arguments only served as a barren cover for simple profit-hunger as in the case of Cecil Rhodes and his associates.

By the strategy of giving the needs of the natives as grounds for demands for colonial conquests Rhodes easily obtained the support of influential humanitarian circles in England.[21)] In such arguments the notion of Africans as children often appeared. This expressed the idea that the tribes in Africa were to be regarded as children,who were to be educated by the Europeans.[22)]
After the first World war more and more people began to doubt the infallibility of the European civilization and a more relative conception of alien civilizations began to emerge.[23)] However,it was not until the start of the decolonization in the 1960's that one could register any radical shift in the conception of Africa.Despite this trend most of the old myths are still going strong.[24)]

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS AND RACE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The attitude of a human being to a certain phenomenon could not be disgarded as irrelevant. It can be seen as an intergal part of the individual's whole set of attitudes. Every individual needs a certain harmony and consonance of attitudes and a consonance of attitudes and doings.[1)]

Our attitudes also play a significant role in our relations with other people, as they may be regarded as the generalized other. All these complicated relations between the various attitudes of the single individual and between the attitudes of more individual have only been marginally explored.[2)] In order to be able to say anything of relevance about Swedish attitudes towards Africa we would in the first place have to know a little about the intellectual climate that prevailed in European society and in Sweden during the period under examination.

As it would be impossible to present the world of ideas of a whole epoch in a few pages we prefer to condense our discussions into two concepts which were of uttermost importance,ideas crucial, to the European conception of Africa. These two concepts were those of progress and race.[3)] These ideas were beginning to gain some foothold in European intellectual life around the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it was not until after the French revolution of 1789 that it acquired a prominent place;[4)] In this early period the philosophy of progress was marked by rationalism,humanitarian and optimism, later on these ideas were confronted by other ideas like Darwinism.

The philosophers of the nineteenth century who are of interest in this respect are men like Fourier,Comte,Saint-Simon, Marx and Darwin. Darwins works could be taken as a sample of ideas here in view of his theory of "survival of the fittest where he studied the relationship between the lower animals, for example, ants.One could attribute to Darwin's discovery the status of a natural law according to which nature worked.[5)]

As a rule it was assumed as a matter of course that the height of evolution was being represented by one's own domestic and well-known civilization irrespective of whether it emanated from Britian, or Germany. Even when the well-kown by itself was taken as a norm it became obvious that the more alien or strange a civilization appeared to be the more inferior it was also rated,[6] thus one saw history as a steady evolutionary process from the primitive to the more complex! However, it seemed only natural to conclude that the under-developed civilizations could be regarded as a form of museum where one could observe the earlier stages of the evolution of European civilization.[7] The African nations were conspicuous[+] for their lack of development and it seemed verynatural to assist them to make a start.

In the middle of the eighteenth century European access to Africa was established by means of trade, while around the end of nineteenth century it took the form of direct intervention. By this time the criterion mostly used in placing a nation in a specific stage in the progress of evolution was the level of technological development.[8]

It was in this field that themost astonishing development in European civilization had taken place. It was also in this field that the difference between European and foreign cultures was most significant.

The differentiation in technological development seemed so much obvious to the people of nineteenth century that the European civilization was taken as the most progressed civilization. In other words, it was confidently assumed that to be civilized was to be European. The European values and the European way of life was believed to be universal.[9] The task of the Europeans became regarded as "the white

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+) Our reply to this type of conservative idea is that, it was the imperialistic drive in search of raw materials in both Europe and Africa which had presented the conspicuos lack of development in Africa as an argument to justify European imperialistic drive for strategic raw materials in Africa which was finally achieved through trade and conquest. The strategic raw material could be cited as the gold rush which started in South Africa and in Rhodesia early in 1900.

man's burden", in the sense that the colonies which they acquired became a financial and administrative burden. The, above assertions evidently did not support the under-developed peoples in their progress.Other new lines of thought revolved around the ideas that the Africans were to be set in motion along the lines of progress which meant that they were to be taught the superior European progress. The slogans of nineteenth - century European colonialists could be listed in the following order: Christianity,Civilization and Commerce. Even if the means that were adopted were different at the end of the century the goals remained largely the same.

If one at all were to distinguish between the "primitive" civilizations one usually used the trade conditions or the economic system as criterian.Around the end of eighteenth century someScottish philosophers of ethics began to view history as the continuing process of evolution.These philosophers were also among the first to operate with a system of classification based on series of stages in the process of evolution.

At the bottom of the ladder of evolution one found the economies based on hunting and food gathering. As one climbed the ladder one then found the normads, then the farm economies and at the top the civilizations with economies based on handicraft and industry.[10] In the course of the nineteenth century the location of the normads in the hierachy became, altered, they now ranked above or at the same level as the farming economies. This promotion was primarily due to an admiration for the efficency of the military organization of the nomads.[11]

The method in use made it more common to sub divide the level of food-gathering and hunting societies into two. The lower became characterized as one of simple food-gathering and hunting economies and the other higher level was designated as well developed hunting economies.[12] As one started to look for the reasons for the different evolutionary levels of nations,however, the economic motives did not rank high as one could have expected. It seemed more obvious both to laymen and to scholars to seek the explanation for the levels of development of certain peoples in the type of race to which they belonged.

From time immemorial man had noticed that there were certain differences in physical apperance of people from various parts of the world. For example, the Old Testament had divided the people of the world into three races,the decendants of Kam,Sem and Jafet.[13] However to the new sciences of biology and anthropology which emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century such a tri-partition was not regarded as sufficient.In1775 Blumombach, the originator of anthropology,made his division of mankind into three races the Caucasian, the Ethiopians and the Mongolian,each with its particular continent of domicile.[15] Curvier in 1817 devised another system of racial tripartition of mankind - the white, the yellow and the black, but he advanced one step further by linking the mental capacity of man with race.[16]

The earlier systems of race demarcation primarily used the colour of the skin as the distinctive mark, but it soon became obvious that this mark varied too much to serve as a criterion for a genuine classification. Again, in the first half of eighteenth century Gall, the founder of phrenology divided human skulls into two groups,one with a short skull and one with a long skull.[17] Anders Retzius of Stockholm established the familiar classification into brachycephalic and dolichocephalic, but his full craniometric system was still more complex. He combined the Cephalic index with measurements of the face, the height, and the jugular breadth of the head to produce a four-fold system of numerical classification. This system gradually came into general use on the continent during the 1840's, and somewhat later in England.Retzius was thus the effective founder of craniometry,but he had no wish to distinguish race by physical criteria alone.Like other ethnologists of his time he too accepted language as a racial trait.[18]

Soon it became common to draw all kinds of conclusions as to the intellectual and moral qualities of a person from the shape of his skull. The attempts of identifying born criminals by the measuring of skull by Lombroso and his criminal anthropology ought to be well

remembered althought the technique of skull measuring and cranial characteristics were a part of his theory. To most scientist phrenological measuring was not sufficient and so the language was included as an additional of classification.[19] Underlying these attempts at linking appearance and language with intellectual and moral qualities was erronous in essence, but in the nineteenth century it became a widely accepted assumption.[20] As these scientific taughts became widely accepted in the later part of ninetenth century the first part of the twenteeth century racist thinking gathered new strength.

The history of mankind widended from comprising around 6.000 years to comprising or embracing many millions of years. What then seemed obvious was to regard the primitive race as being thousands of years behind the white race in the process of evolution.[21] Viewed from this perspective the white race's suppression of other races was a legitimate means in the struggle for the survival of fittest among races and colonial expansion could not be seperated from the concept of race, indeed the two concepts were inter-twined in the sense that it was the theories of race that encouraged the humanitarians to condone colonialism.[22]

Outside the circles of science racist thinking was not less predominant but the definitions of race became more diffused in the course of time. The term race was used to designate groups so completely different as nations. The Germanic race, identified as a specific set of people. The Celtic race, groups of language, the Assyrian race or the religious minorities. The discussions on race also included the phenotypically distinct racial groups such as black,yellow and whites. There were also debates on "intra-white" differences, expounding the speriority of Aryans,Nordic or Anglo Saxon over other European race's etc.

As distinctive marks of race one used the colour of the skin, blood, language, place of birth, shape of the skull,membership of civilization.[23] In a real sense no one could give a precise and thorough

definition of what race actually was. Still the idea of racial characteristics being something important was extremely widespread.

It would be fruitful here to make certain assumptions. Race could be said to have served a number of functions. Firstly, it simply served as a support to individual self-confidence. If one was white in Africa, surrounded by blacks, it was comforting to know that one was superior to any other person, provided that the other person was different by the colour of the skin. Secondly, the racist idea was eloquent in laying the foundation for, or even justifying European expansion in other parts of the world;[24] Thirdly, foreign civilizations could often be easily arranged into a larger system, such as in the areas of economic and cultural imperialism. In Africa the colonized had to be treated in a manner commensurate with their stage of development as men and this, unfortunately, meant limiting their participation and claims in the community of so-called civilized men. So the Africans became reconciled to racism in the sense that they as the victors became the vanquished. The Africans were alienated from their culture, and as this happened they were not fully accepted by their colonial masters. The vicious circle struck and racism or racial discrimination was the final reward which they were rewarded with in the proclamation of the equality of all men.

3 THE THEORETICAL LEVEL

3.1 THE THEORETICAL RELEVANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF IMAGE

Research on the image involves the problem of communication and, in turn,it also involve political actors and the political system or the environment.We are daily bombarded by thousands of influences from our surroundings,but we attempt to relate them in a continuity of incidents past and present.We form our attitudes partly out of our own experiences,partly from those of others that we learn about through their writings and speeches,for example,political actors. The Swedish images of Africa were from this last category, that is, the last category may be taken here to refer to speeches.Such images are related to reality for example when in the study of geography school pupils form images of an unknown country which they have never visited such as Africa or India.

The above conception are a means that helps one in constructing and interpreting the muddle of impressions from the outer world.To all those persons who merely connect something meaningful when hearing the word "Africa" are carring such a conception.The term"images" is not synonymous to single perceptions or bundles of impressions.First of all,an "image" is an analytical concept,not empirical raw material, as already mentioned these conceptions cannot be studied directly,they must be reconstructed.In order to be"images" these conceptions should have (a) a structure which will assist in tracing dimensions and interrelations within them, (b) A rather enduring existence making them an instrumental part in the frame of reference,and (c) A synthetical quality,representing the whole picture of the phenomenon involved(in this case Africa).This does not mean,of course, that images must be complex or intellectually sophisticated things; in many cases they consist of a few bare notions which are very possibly wrong.

It could be filled with details or covered with black or white sports, it could be based on intensive studied or on casual information.It is assumed that most Swedes of the period were possessing such "images". The individual"images" cannot be reconstructed even in our empirical materials because none amongst the recipients of such images still lives.The information about them in the survived sources are few and widely spread.The "images" of different persons we assume are quite alike,people have always had the same experiences originated from the same sources off information reaching out for the same goals.It is possible to mend and blend a synthesis of the images of Africa held by persons as an aid in reconstructing opinion or opinions on Africa around the turn of the century.The model of communication is introduced from which one could map out how the cognitive actors handled in the first instance firsthand information,second hand knowledge stereotypes,how they handled their messages.Purposes or motives can be investigated either directly from what they said themselves explicitly or indirectly by a careful analysis on the basis of a close reading of their statements.,so as to avoid identifying motives by inputation.

A series of disagreements has arisen over the difinition of attitude and opinion.The disagreement tends to be much more acute on the problem how opinion and attitude generate. In order to achieve a overview over the disagreement over attitude and behaviour.It might be resonable to begin with examining the viewpoints as expressed in the philosophy off science.According to Comte,what distinguishes the scientific spirit is its steady surbordination of imagination to observation,of reasons to facts.As for other aspects of Comte's method he emphasized such techniques as observation experiment and comparison.

A second line of analysis is the idealist philosophy with such representatives as Dilthey,Collingwood,and Dray.Dray has emphasised that human behavior has a central place within an historical explanatory scheme and that all the goal-directed behavior,for example class-struggle,war,political,religious and social organization could be classified as a complex form of action.[1] Thirdly,we have dialectic philosophy represented by Hegel and Marxism.[2]

For most analytic theoreticians the conception of attitude is based on fact than is a prerequsite for behavior.

> "An attitude is relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner." [3]

However, they are far from agreeing on this matter and many have let it stay open; It is precisely with this particular relationship that certain philosophers of the idealistic school have concerned themselves. One of them is von Wright. He asserts that the relation between attitude and behavior is analytic since behavior is a logic consequence of its motivations (is the background of motivations.)[4] So one could visualise that the relation is thus not of a causal character according to von Wright.

> "The relationship should be compared in a way where the consequence of the argumentation or in other words reasoning reletlessly emerges from the premisses." [5]

The reason concept or the reason notation has been frequently used by the school of logical empiricism in what Karl Popper called "the method of trial and error" or "the method of critical rationalism". Thus can be denoted with the following symbols.

$$P_1 \longrightarrow TT \longrightarrow EE \longrightarrow P_2$$

Where the symbols are represented in the following way. P_1 = Problem TT = Tentative theory EE = Error Elimination P_2 = Problem Situation.

Our level of theorising is thus within the reasoning of Popper.[5] One cannot identify the attitude without referring to the behavior, and in explaning behavior the aim is actually a "rational construction" of a process whose external side is the incident, and whose internal side is the motivation process.[6] According to this view, there is not much sense in investigating attitudes and opinion since they are so closely attached to behavior which becomes the only relevant object for research. Nevertheless, this view has been confronted with opposition, especially from logical empiricism. They assert, pausibly and quite acceptable in my opinion, that it is possible to imagine that an act could be carried out without the motivation background, that is behavior generated from pressure and force against the motivator's will.

Despite the fact that attitudes exists in real sense,behavior is never visibly exposed.

Most Marxist thinkers probably regard people's perceptions of a phenomenon as being interesting,but only when the perceptions have been seen in relation to the phenomenon.Only then could one examine the possibility of an anology between objective fact or reality and the perception of it,only then it is worthwhile to examine their relationships.[7)]

According to Marx in every society the thoughts of the ruling class are the ruling thoughts.[8)]These thoughts are presented by the ruling class as being representative for and beneficial to all of society. Thus the thoughts achieve a justifying function,they become false conciousness and so become ideology.With this conception of ideology Marx primarily aimed at a metaphysical justifying thought such as religion.Contemporary Marx-inspired thinkers like Jurgan Habermas have developed these thoughts in that they believe that such a concept is sufficient to describe the conditions in the modern industralized society.They claim that the technocracy has become the base for justification for the goal-directed acts aimed at economic growth which in turn have become,ideology.Habermas emphasises that the inner relationship between scientific research,and social research interest and he discusses what he calls the empirical analysis,historical hermeneutic and critically oriented science,in short the different categories of scientific endeavour and their various interrelation.[9)]Politics becomes a negative function which is not geared towards the realization of pratical goals but towards the solution of technical problems.Ideology becomes the normal expressive form for power.[10)]

An investigation of peoples'conceptions of attitudes to Africa can certainly be regarded as quite uninteresting by itself;peoples'perceptions and attitudes are never interesting in itself according to our view.It is viewed as interesting only when seen in relation to the subjective fact or reality and the question that is centered on truth is asked.It is agreement or disagreement that is expressed in

the perceptions or reality itself?[11] Only when the truth has been found, then one could sort out peoples' perceptions of it.[12]

Most experts are in fundamental disagreement over the research on opinion. Perceptions and attitudes are equally part of reality as are both behavior and incidents. Often the examination of how a particular incident was perceived by the people involved is far more important for an historian trying to understand its results than a mere established truth about what actually took place. On the other hand, an ideal examination of the Swedish conception of Africa has to include reality, the Swedish as well as the African reality.

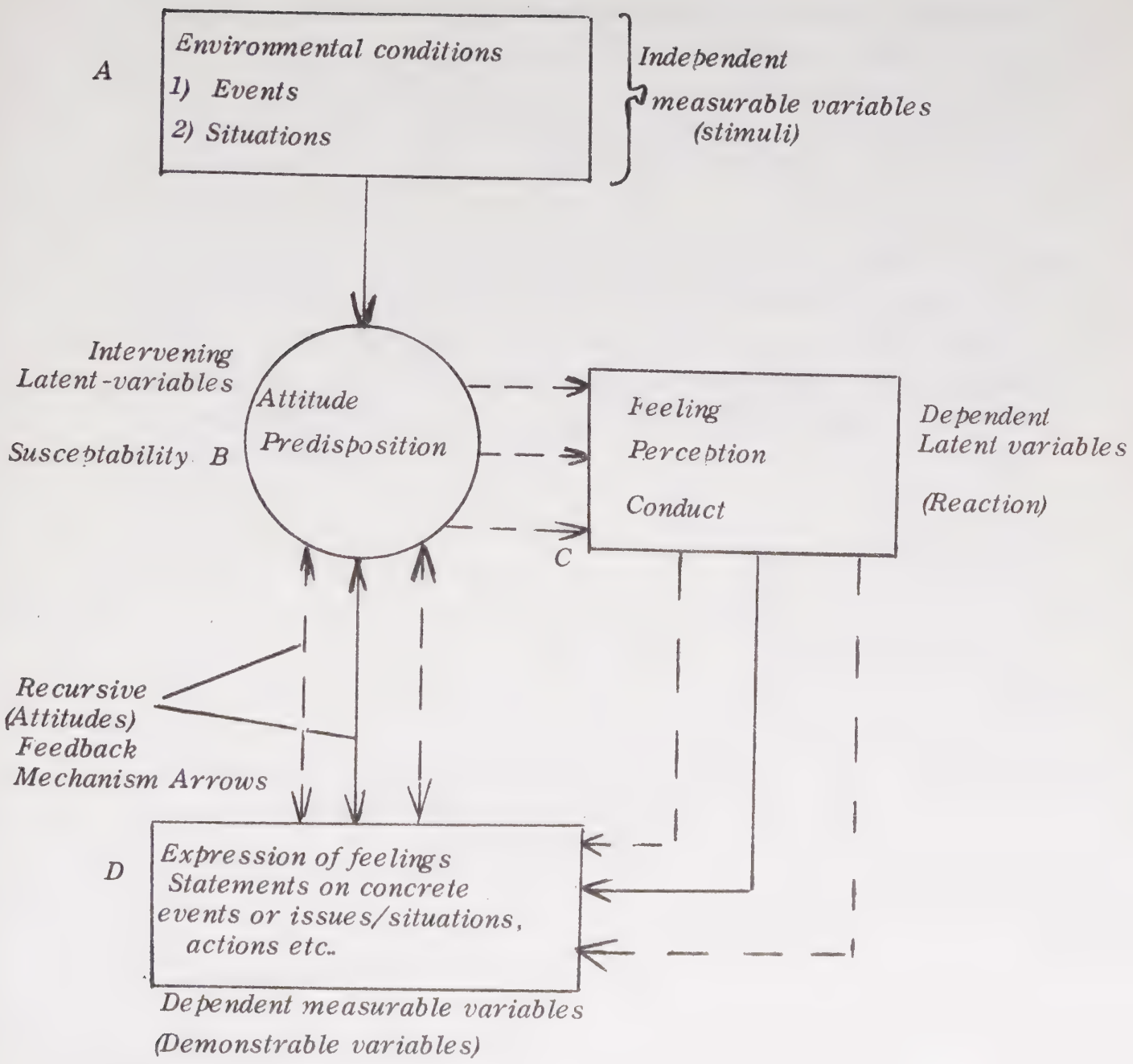
3.2 THEORIES ON ATTITUDE FORMATION AND OPINIONS

In the research on attitudes and opinions one has often attached the greatest importance to their dynamic aspects. In the previous accounts we have primarily reviewed the correlation between attitude and behavior or the problems involved in the formation and the change of opinions and attitudes. Attitudes are largely seen as intervening variables in a total process of communication. In a more comprehensive form the empirical opinion research works on the basis of two different methods of investigation. Most researchers, especially psychologists and social psychologists work with experiments with small groups. This in other words, makes the isolation of the influence of single factors possible but it in turn has some weak points. Particularly, the results could be rather difficult to apply in real life situation.

In sum, the experiments with small groups have a high internal validity. Most other methods aim at examining how the formation of attitudes take place in real life situations. This method is applied through the process of interviewing a certain number of people selected in such a way that they form a representative sample of the population, for example in Gallup polls. This method has a high external validity, but a corresponding low internal validity, due to the extreme difficulty in the isolation of the individual variables.[13]

The problem of research on attitudes and opinions are illustrated in the model in figure 1.It could be designated as a model of attitudes and opinions within a political environment.

Figure:1 A model of attitudes and opinions within an environment



The model indicates clearly that any investigation of attitudes will be an indirect affair.On the other hand, a great number of general tendencies and mechanisms in the opinion formation process have been detected.But the establishment of where,how and with what effects these tendencies do manifest themselves in the real situation have yet to be discovered.

One explanation is clear:The model of attitudes and opinions tends to be a recursive system within a theoretical dimension at the following levels of measurement,that is from A to B from B to C and from C to D.But again this process could be limited to only three levels if the C level of measurement is eliminated.The independent measurable variables could create dependent measurable variables by passing through one process,that of attitude predisposition of which has been shown profoundly to influence behavior.So the final outcome could still give one the same resultant: From A to B and from B to D or it could be summed together giving A_1 plus B_1 which is equal to ...N.

The environment which conditions contain two factors,those of events and situational conditioning give rise to attitude predisposition which is the intervening or antecedent variable and this, in turn, projects the dependent demonstrable variables such as the expression of feelings,statements on concrete issues,situation,action etc as shown in the figure.

3.2.2 SOME RELEVANT THEORIES ON ATTITUDE FORMATION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE DERIVED FROM EXPERIMENTS IN SMALL GROUPS

The originators of various theories on attitude formation and development have arrived in the field of attitude formation,from other, mostly unrelated fields of study.[15] The original fields have never determined their choice of approach.Various theories attack different sides of opinion formation, and they differ but they certainly do not exclude one another.It could be pratical to classify the theories according to their perspective and basis.
However,they all share approximately the same course of investigation.For example,two arbitary selected groups are usually tested with regard to a certain attitude.One of the groups ie the experimantal group,is exposed to a form of manipulation the effect of which on the formation of attitudes one wants to examine.The other group, which is the control group,is left unexposed.After the experiment both groups are tested again with regard to their respective attitudes,and the difference as to the degree of change between the two groups is attributed to the manipulation effects.[16]

As we proceed further here in order to throw more light on these theories,we shall discuss some other theories briefly.One group of theories have sprung from the psychology of learning and are very closely related to behaviorism and the S - O - R psychology of stimulus - object - response.These theories primarily deal with the stimuli factors,as the attitude is understood as part of the sequence which leads from stimulus to response. In order to have effect a stimulus has to function so as to a) attract attention b) be understood c) and be accepted. On the whole the attitude is regulating this complex process especially the acceptance of a stimulus as in c) but it is also influenced by it.Therefore,a persuasive communication effect is mainly considered to be dependent on the various stimuli factors,such as message,medium and communication situation.[17]

The attitude change is regarded as the result of a form of learning process in which punishment and reward are being used.As one proceeds

further the process gets highly complicated.While the theories that have been described above attaches much weight to stimuli and thus could be accused of being rather static the theories of consistency and dissonance,which are among the most researched and the most used theories,attach special importance to the dynamics of the attitude change or to its functional importance.Thus they describe the interchange between the attitude and the incoming information.The basic thesis is that every person or individual has a need for consistency within one's attitudes and actions.[18)]

The most important aspect of the theories deals with the relationships between "the cognitive elements" which could be ideas,knowledge or even attitudes.[19)]The basic assumption is that any dissonance between the above attributes will lead to psychological tension which will motivate the individual to reduce the influenced dissonance. In principle a dissonance could be reduced in three ways,by change of action,by change of environment (or by conception of the environment) and by the introduction of a new cognitive elements.

In order to illustrate some aspects of the theory of dissonance we shall cite one example here.The theories of dissonance have been especially important in the research on the effects of propaganda as in persuasive mass-communication.Numerous investigations of this phenomenon show that the persuasive effect usually is extremely insufficient and insignificant.This could be explained by application of the theories of dissonance.Information which is inconsistent with the attitudes of a person is either ignored,reinterpreted or not accepted,all in order to reduce or avoid dissonance.[20)]

The last category of these theories that we shall be testing in this area are the functionalist theories. These theories aim at answering a certain type of questions,such as,:what is the use of attitudes to a person? The theories consist of a list of functions which attitudes could serve.Obviously such a list could be made almost infinite. Here we shall mention just a few functions which have been listed by Katz.[21)]First we have the utalitarian function. Which can be illustrated by a person trying to maintain the attitudes which are related to object of value to him.Secondly we have the ego-defensive mechanism or function.The role of this function is closely connected to

the psychoanalytic theories of the inclination of an ego to defend itself against internal and external conflicts. In this area attitudes play an important role in functionalist theories than in dissonance theory.

The third function is that of knowledge. In this case a person will try to understand and to structure his environment and in this situation attitudes play a significant part. This function is important when attitudes towards a subject as Africa are to be examined. If one could speak of the attitudes of the average Swede towards Africa as having served any function the first that comes to mind is that of structuring the sparse single piece of information that he received about the question of Africa.

The next on our list is the attitudes serving the function of expressing values. A person could strive to bring his attitudes and opinions into agreement with the image he has of himself and the image that he wants other people to get of him.

Characteristically these theories are so broad that they could be applied to most observations. On the other hand, the functionalist approach is basically static due to the fact that it could be very difficult to account for completely or explain any attitude changes by means of these theories. The functionalist approach is important when one deals with how attitudes are transmitted or effected through the medium.+)

Most of the actors who wrote about Africa and its inhabitants did so with certain purposes in mind and these purpose affected the audience, the public. It is highly probable that they might have wanted to further a specific cause, political, economic or religious. On the other hand it could be also assumed that they simply wanted to sell

+) This specific point we shall be treating in more detail in chapter four.

as many copies of their publication as possible.These avowed aims affected the ways in which the image of Africa was projected in the political environment at the time of our investigation.

3.2.1 THEORETICAL GENERALIZATIONS BASED ON FIELD RESEARCH

The theories which we have described and discussed in the last few pages have all resulted from laboratory experiments.However,they have probably served their primary functions as an explanatory outline of the results reached in field research.Most of this research has been concentrated on specific problems such as the effect of mass media on the formation and change of attitude.This area of research is of some relevance to the problem that we shall be dealing with in the thesis.

The results of field research have been of marginal significance in the theoretical sense.But they have,of course been significant at the empirical level.Thus there is no general theory as to how man functions as a recipient of communication.On the whole,the results obtained by researchers have been so reliable that one could take them as tentative generalizations with a rather high reliability and validity.[22)]

When we look at the importance these generalizations have for this thesis the most significant result of recent research tends to be somewhat negative.Pratically all investigations show that mass communication in itself cannot be considered as a sufficient cause for any change in attitude,although the media can be regarded as containing some influential elements among other influential elements in a total situation.[23)]The capacity of the mass-media for making people change their minds is rather limited except if other selective media are added in the model.[24)]To this we shall return in the treatment of our empirical level of analysis in the later chapters.The mass-media are not only an influence among other means of influence but their

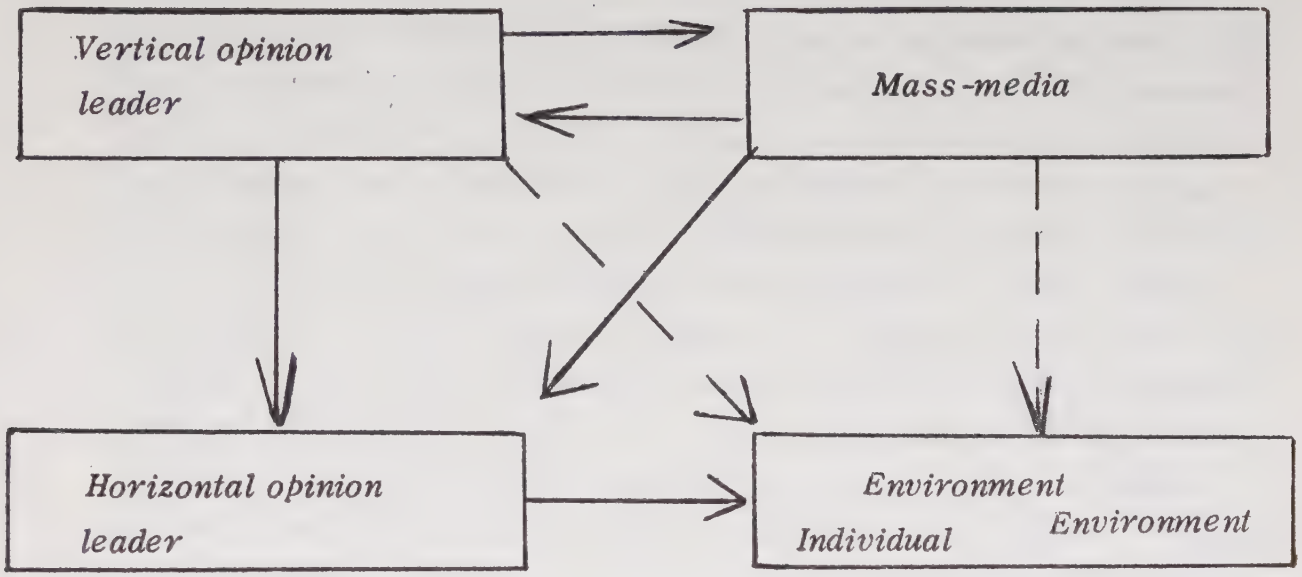
effect is mainly a product of factors outside themselves.

Most attitudes,habits,values etc seem to be deeply rooted in and directed by groups and group-norms.Therefore,the alteration of these types of attitudes could not be regarded as having to do with a single individual alone.Other social factors ought to be included, such as the social environmental and other social aspects of the individual.In the present case the groups which made up the Swedish environment differed acording to the art of the attitude.This could be the family,friends colleagues etc.On the other hand,membership of more groups could influence the same category of attitudes simultanously.

Many investigations seems to indicate that there is one or more opinion leaders within every group whose opinion in his particular field is given special attention by the other groups or group members.These horizontal opinion leaders generally belong to the same social strata as their group,but somehow they have a strategic social position and are more in contact with the mass-media than the average group members.That is,they have contacting ability like anyone else but considerably more so than the rest within their group of reference. The role of opinion leaders can be summarized in figure 2.

Figure 2. A model of opinion leaders

(Cited from Nowak and Wärneryd: Kommunikation och påverkan p. 107.[26])



The model gives a tentative picture of the effect of mass communication. The vertical opinion leaders include politicians, religious leaders,and scientists. These actors exert their influence on the individual in an indirect way,through the mass-media and through the previously already mentioned horizontal opinion leaders. The members of these strata occupy strategic position as they filter,interpret and possibly translate the messages that reach the individual within the environment. Still they are not as ominipotent as one should think because as soon as they deviate from the norms of the group they are no longer opinion leaders.This mechanism fixes rather narrow limits to their activities.

A word of caution ought to be used in stating the reasons for the significance of the opinion leaders.Experiments have shown rather consistently that a message is more believable the more personal the message is tailored. Face to face contact has a much larger effect than the media; The reason for the significance of the opinion leader is to be sought more in the psychology of groups

than in the direct effect of communication form.

Thus, the mass-media effect on attitudes is primarily conservative as it confirms people in the opinion which they had already formed. This phenomenon is due partly to its functioning in the described indirect way,partly to the fact that all human beings are endowed with a number of psychological self-defence mechanisms that come into force when the individual is exposed to messages which do not fit into their set of attitudes.

Firstly we individual usually pays attention primarily to the type of communication that agree with his views or beliefs. We subscribe to newspapers that share our political views,we avoid all discussions or debate with people of whom we know in advance that they will disagree with our views,ideas and beliefs. In other words,we are victims of selective exposure.[27] Secondly,our perception of elements in a piece of communication that supports our views will be significantly better than our perception of those elements that run contrary to the statements that support our opinions. Such communication will tend to be far better than our recollection of statements that contradict our views. In this instance we are involved in what could be called selective recollection or exposure.[28] Finally, the perception and the aim of a communication is important.Messages which areregarded as propoganda have a much poorer effect than messages that are considered informative.

It is well known that peoples'attitudes actually change and that the media play an important role in the process of this change.What can then be said of the situation of "when?" and "how?" the mass-media could bring about changes in attitudes?Two such situations could be said to attract attention in this connection.In the first situation the usual attitude confirming factors are reinforced and in the second situation they work for changes among themselves.[29]

When attitudes towards issue of marginal interest to the individual are in question such issues are rarely disscussed with other people and thus the media is the only element of influence.A topic such as Africa can safely be presumed to have been of marginal interest to

to the vast majority of Swedes.Therefore,the media had some direct influence,and the media mentioned here refer to all the printed materials.When the change in attitude is small the group norms are not violeted and the individual only gets some feeling of dissonance.[30]

Finally we shall look at the aspect of influence over opinion or over attitudes. Nearly three decades ago Hermann Goering was reported to have emphasised the view that "people can be brought to the bidding of the leaders", and Joseph Goebbels stressed that "the one that speaks the first word to the world is always right"[31] This kind of belief in the effect of forming attitudes in new area is shared by many,and in this specific field communication is often considered to be particular effective.The results of the few investigation into the topic are,however,neither particular clear nor particularly consistent.Estimated cautiously they seem to indicate that the media can be extraordinarily influential when attitudes in new field of opinion are formed.[32] This view fits well with the theories which have been emphasised in our earlier discussions.Thus, the reason for the effectiveness of the media can be found in the intervening or antecedent factors so that the medium influenced the individual directly.To many people Africa undoubtably has been such a new field. Once more we have an argument,indicating that the media were effective in influencing the individual Swede in the case of our topic.

3.2.1.1 APPLICABILITY OF THE EXPLORED THEORIES TO AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF IMAGES

The question here is what pratical consequences for an examination of image of Africa, during the period under investigation could be deduced from theoretical reflections? In a way the most important one is that these reflections can keep one from falling into too many pitfalls,which one most likely would not have avoided if one had used an approach based entirely on common sense.We have to establish the fact,that th e relation between attitudes and actions is not a simple relation of cause and effect.As we have shown the relation is much more complicated in reality.In the case of such

national "images" or stereotypes which is the subject here under study the opposite could manifest itself,that is,action could be the cause of the attitudes.[33] Examinations emphasized the significance of the part played by the media in the creation of stereotypes.[34]

It is rather evident that normally one cannot anticipate that the medium should be an instrument with direct effect on the environment. Another question could be raised here: how could it be then that stereotypes played such an important role in the creation of national images? One could assume that two conditions were predominant.In the first place,the conception of Africa and its inhabitants was of marginal interest and therefore it was not made the object of very diverse personal exchanges of views.For this reason the medium exerted a very high degree of direct influences.Secondly it could also be assumed that new attitudes towards Africa were formed in the years under investigation in the thesis.

Turning to historical facts-for example, It was not until 1885 that Africa seriously began to be included in the European sphere of interest.As we have shown, the media played quite a considerable role in the creation of new attitudes. Even a century earlier Winterborttom had shown some knowledge about Africa.Sir Harry Johnston is a case in point.He knew some parts of Africa fairly well,yet none of his experience stopped him from accepting the doctrine of the day. Indeed he swallowed them in their totality.For him,as for other,all signs of civilization in Africa could be attributed to outside influence.Undoubtedly,he wrote in 1910,

> "the influence of the Portuguese...wrought some surprising moraments all along the coast regions of west Africa and in the south basin of the Congo,by which organised kingdoms arose which created and stimulated commerce, and which in the general effects on the people were perhaps less drearily horrible than the anarchy of cannibal savages". [35]

Yet the truth as any diligent researcher could have known was precisely the opposite.The Kingdoms of the Congo had preceded the Portuguese, and the Portuguese,far from creating them,had in fact destroyed them.

Emphasis should be laid on what the actual turn of the century.A source like Harry Johnston is a printed medium in a broad sense and it can be considered in some way to reflect the prevailing attitude and such a source can be viewed as opinion-maker.[36] Indeed, when the question one wants to examine is the public opinion on Africa the medium has primarily to be seen as opinion-maker.An individual source reflects the attitude of the author to the subject in question. However, one must take into account that at least the newspapers, the periodicals,the scientific literature and text books were to a very large extent based on foreign sources.To sort out the various attitudes from the materials is a difficult task. When the conceptions of Africa have changed foreign sources had little influence. In such instances the conception could probably be attributed to the influence of political ideology from abroad. This applies for example, literary literature.

One could also assume that to the extent that the conception of Africa was of marginal importance to the groups within the political environment,these groups had no conception of Africa at all.Single individual made his attitudes conform as a direct consequence of a communication process.If the groups consisted of individuals who had taken a minimal personal interest in the question of Africa the medium's image of Africa could not be conveyed as was the case of the mission literature.On the other hand,it could be assumed that there had been quite considerable personal exchange of views about Africa within the missionary circles. Furthermore, it has to be emphasized that for the overwhelming majority of the Swedish population the printed matter was the dominating source of knowledge and was by far the main factor in the formation of attitudes to Africa.

The next phase of our inquiry could be characterized in the following way.How can one, bearing in mind the theories of attitude,estimate the relative effect of the different types of sources? For example,literary literature and other forms of artistic accounts of Africa were the most personal type of medium.One can intuitively assume that the average reader most readily would identify with persons and milieus appearing in the narrative accounts.

On the other hand communication of this type of medium will not be regarded as purely manipulative. There is even a good chance that people with a poor knowledge of the conditions prevailing in Africa would mistake the literary literature as an informative source. In all the estimate the literary literature could be assumed to have had a strong and considerable effect on the population here under investigation. The text-books and the literature of ethnographic literature are regarded as primarily informative and therefor they can be said to have had large effects on the environment. With regard to the school-books one further aspect is that they often were opinion-forming in nature simply because the children and a large number of Swedes had no prior knowledge about Africa.

On the other hand this is weakened by the recipients- intervening opinion-leader (the teacher) whose influence X it is difficult to determine. Newspapers can hardly be considered particularly manipulative in the above connection. However, one probably has to anticipate a certain amount of scepticism on the part of the readers. To a certain extent selective exposure would have occured. One can easily come to the conclusion that a large proportion of the readers only skimmed through the papers and thus might have skipped the news about Africa as well. It is still important to remember that the newspapers around the turn of the century were looked upon with considerably larger veneration and reverence than they are today.[37] Often the newspapers were read very thoroughly. In this connection, it will be resonable to make the assumption that the medium lent prestige to the message. The simple fact that the attitude was expressed in a paper gave it some credibility and prominance, and the susceptibility of the recipient, that is his willingness to accept the message of the medium may have been considerable. The intensity of the influence is the ability of the medium to effect the recipient by its message. Among other things this intensity of influence is dependent on the pattern of the message and on how it is viewed by the recipient. Messages that are informative have the largest effect. The distribution simply indicates the number of recipients a message can reach. In case of printed messages in the paper the influence will usually

be to some degree proportional to the circulation of such medium. An explanation of this phenomenon could be found in the text-books and its recipients.With regard to the element that affect or influence the recipient towards reading these sources.One such element could be the style on how these text-books are written.

3.3 SUMMARY

The above chapter has served to illustrate that human behavior should be seen as central and basic in a historical explanatory scheme. In the area of philosophy we have been able to establish two assertions: firstly that reason is a prerequisite for behavior,and secondly that the relation between attitude and behavior is analytic, because in essense,behavior is a logic consequence of its motivation.

In the method of critical rationalism the tendency is to view behavior as a rational construction.Only when this has been achieved can it be possible to sort out facts with regards to the individual perception of what is rational. In figure 2 the model of attitudes and opinion in a hypothetical political environment has enabled us to conceptualize the feed-back process within a theoretical dimension at four levels of measurement or even at three depending on which situation is chosen as more convinent or relevant.

At this point we can draw some insight from the theoretical effect of the already examined theories both in experimentation with small groups and in generalization.This field approach helps to stimulate the theoretical generalizations which are drawn from certain field research, for example in the theories dealing with the stimuli factors in most instances are the result of a learning process.It is also from this approach that the model of opinion leaders could be deduced,although in this case the medium is the dominant factor that has to be taken into account.

4.1 A COMMUNICATION MODEL +)

Before we go into greater depths in our inquiry into the communication model it will be necessary to address ourselves to a set of four questions. To be candid,this set of four questions is tentative.The purpose will be to assist us to enter into a broad treatment at the empirical level of research.The questions should assist us in developing the type of analysis suitable to the type of research undertaken here.Furthermore,it could also be regarded as giving some insights both in theory and the use of empirical materials.

The set of four questions follow in this order.First,how much did the Swedes read about Africa?; Secondly,how did the image of Africa look,compared to the image drawn by modern political scientists and historians? however this analysis will not be dealt with systematically.Thirdly,which groups in Swedish society were mostly occupied with Africa?; Forth,how and in what connection were they occupied with Africa,that is through which medium were they occupied with the subject of Africa.[1)]

We shall now concern ourselves with the establishment of a communication model of an image and of the factors determining its effectiveness and the environment.In figure 3 the communication model is meant to be the pattern from which the set of four questions were derived.In the first place,an image of Africa could never be acquired by the Swedish public in any other way other than through the communication.Therefore the relevance of the conceptual framework becomes quite obvious.

Theory in the study of international relations in this sense serves as a set of questions as was pointed out over a decade ago by Stanley Hoffmann,and Raymond Aron has described it as conceptualization.[2)] Similarly in science the important thing is to have an idea and then be able to raise the question of how one can conceivably go about confirming or disproving it. In reality, as we could not describe or explain the real world,all we can do is to record and perhaps

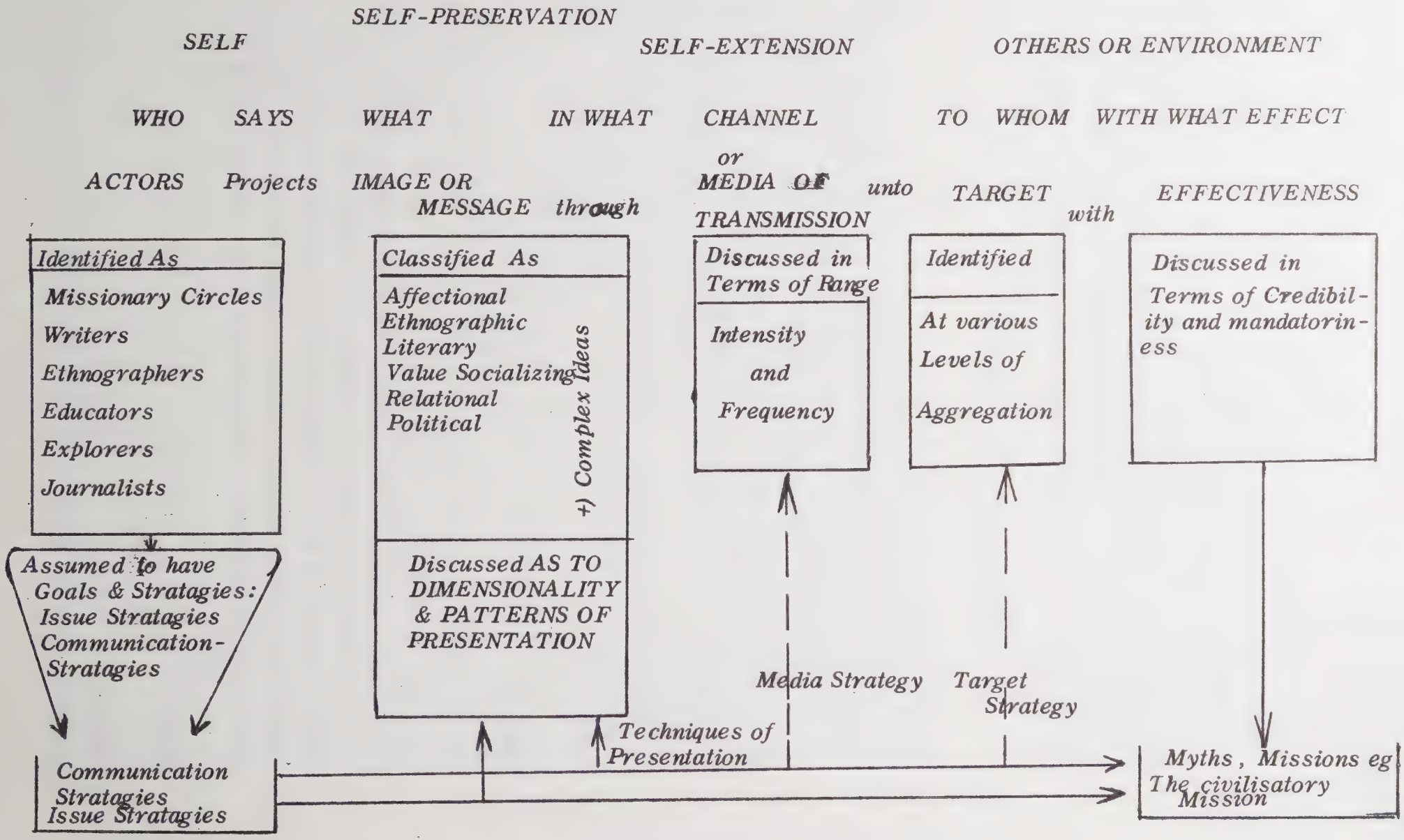
+)"The intention of setting up a communication model of images The general significance of studying images in a communication perspective justifies, in our view,a rather comprehensive discussion at the theoretical level,even though in our empirical analysis ,we will utilize only a part of the model".

produce symbolic representation of it.These symbols may be verbal numerical,or pictorial.In the opinion of David J.Singer these symbols remain the only representations of this reality.[3]The value of what we shall here simply call "a communication model of images" has in its generality and its identification of some additional critical elements in the process of communication and in viewing a political actor as a communicator in a communication process.

In other words, the model helps one think about the process of power and personality developed nearly three decades ago by Harold D. Lasswell as a schema for characterizing the ways in which known variables in attitude change form an essential sequence of "who says what,to whom and with what effect".[4]Such an approach leads to an organization of our knowledge under the headings of 1) Communicator or source,2) Communication or message, 3) audience recipients or target population,and 4) response dimensions.[5]

In this paradigm are the communicator transmitting the message from the actors,and the channel or media in which the message is received. In the communication model developed by Zimbardo and Ebbersen they did not include the channel and therefore the importance of Lasswell's paradigm becomes obvious in a complete version of a communication model of images.The inquiry could thus be re-formulated in the following order. (A) who (B) says what (C) in what channel (D) to whom (E) and with what effect. The five basic elements in the model are the 1) Actor(s) 2) The message 3) The channel or media, private or public,and 4) The environment ie the groups involved. The model or paradigm is presented in figure 3:

Figure: 3. A COMMUNICATION MODEL OF IMAGES AND THE FACTORS DETERMINING ITS EFFECTIVENESS
+) A cluster of ideas, not just a number of ideas.



The main elements in the model may be explicated in the following manner:

ACTORS

Actors can be individual or collective.In the present analysis emphasis will be placed on collective actors,i.e.groups or schools to which individuals may be assigned.These acting groups include political communication actors, senders of messages that are being circulated.The acting groups are perception-oriented or - directed, that is they have the type of strategy which aims at influencing the perceptions and frame of reference of the individual, social groups and the general public.They are also cognitive - oriented in the sense that they may want to affect cognitive element in the public.In some cases the actors have goal/strategies or what one could call a position-oriented type of strategy which aims at influencing the environment in terms of position,most often in material terms.The other aspect that comes to mind are the effectiveness of the message which is used in case of an image . The actors are attributed with these qualities of credibility,they range as follows expertness,trustworthiness, power and likability.The above qualities could be said makes these acting groups as perception oriented strategy actors and to a position-directed strategy actors.These cognitive oriented acting-groups could be said to include the following actors: church groups,the educational groups,scientific groups, explorers and journalists e.t.c.

MESSAGE OR THE PROJECTED IMAGE

The structure of the message has three pre-requisites.Firstly it should be possible to draw conclusions from the message,secondly, the deducing of conclusions might warrant either a one or a multidimensional structure and thirdly, the deducing of conclusions depends on the pattern of presenting of the message. The stimulus value of a message is affected not only by the choice and intensity of appeal,but also by the manner in which the message is structured.Research

conducted several years ago by Hovland and his associates at Yale shed much light on such classic issues in rhetoric as conclusion drawing,one - versus two-sided arguments and pattern of presentation.+) Here we shall only be concerned with the elaboration on the pattern off presentation and with dimensionality,both being important aspect of the structure of the message.

PATTERN OF PRESENTATION

The pattern of presentation raises among other things the question of whether an actor should present his strongest arguments first or last. In the case of one - sided messages,presenting the strongest argument first has the advantage of establishing attention and interest.This may be especially important in newspapers,periodicals e.t.c. However it means an anticlimatic presentation. If the environment is captive,as in conference attended for example by church groups, then a climatic presentation may be more effective. Studies have supported both findings, and we can say only that the strongest arguments do not belong in the middle of the message .In the case of a two-sided message the issue is whether to present the positive argument first (primacy effect) or last (recency effect). If the environment is initially opposed, it would appear that the actor would be smarter to start with the other side's argument. This will tend to disarm the environment and allow the actor to conclude with his strongest argument. It does not appear that either the primacy or the recency effect dominates in all or most situations, and more research is needed into the underlying process.

MESSAGE DIMENSIONALITY

One or multi dimensional argument raises the question of whether the actor should only praise his work.Intuitively,it would appear that

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+) See: C.I .Hovland, A.A.Lumsdaine and D.F.Sheffield (1948) Experiments on mass communication vol.111 Princetion N.J..Chapter 8.

the best effect is gained by one-sided presentation. It depends on such things as the initial position of the environment, its level of education and whether the environment or audience will be exposed to subsequent communication. One - sided messages tend to work best on audiences that are initially favourably predisposed to the actor's position, whereas two -sided arguments tend to work best on audiences who are opposed. Two - sided messages tend to be more effective on better-educated audiences. A newspaper editor might not pretend that his newspaper has the best news content, but by refering to order newspapers he might convince the public that his newspaper could be relied upon as credable. Two - sided messages tend to be more effective on audiences who are likely to be exposed to counter-propaganda. The success of the ethnographic group in emphasizing the wonder of the European(civilization or)the civilising mission in Africa, derives from a two - sided message strategy.

CHANNEL OR MEDIA OF TRANSMISSION

Here the channel is synonymous to media and denotes the ways in which message can be carried or delivered to the environment. Most critice have made the point that so long as we have a message it is almost irrelevant at the same time to have the channel also included in the scheme of analysis. In short, they emphasize that the two are like two sides of one coin. Our reply to the above criticism is that messages are never accepted by a concious environment[6] as authentic for example, if we consider consciousness in the individual as a kind of superordinate sense organ, what happens in the recipients, sense organs is the flow of ideas frm the sender. It is mediated by opinion leaders or persons who are primary groups and whose opinions tend to be sought in one or more areas. The inclusion of the channel in the model is

+) On the question of channel in our communication model our view is that any element that is further added to the communication model of images will result in further insights and in a more theorising approach.

necessary for both the identification of the diverse types of messages that are being advanced for the environment and for the recognition of their various categories.Thus,the channel concept helps the researcher to create a "pattern recognition analysis which can be applied quantitatively or qualitatively.

THE ENVIRONMENT

The environment which is relevant here is the political environment. Its most characteristic feature is its persuasibility.Other characteristics include the ability to understand the message,personality traits relevant to an acceptance of the message and generally the motivational traits of the actors; The process of interaction between actors such as the transmission and reception of the message is a process of communication between the senders and the receivers in the environment. Sometimes this process is reversed and the starting point comes from the environment. Aristotle noted well over two thousand years ago that...

> ..."It is the audience,however which determine the means,the kind of oratory,political or deliberative,forensic or legal and epideictic or display are determined by consideration of kind of audience,the character which will be effective in the speaker depends on the susceptibility of audiences, and questions of rhetorical style and arrangement are in larger part question of appropriateness to the various kinds of oratory".7)

In this instance the process starts with the environment because what is said is dependent on the pattern of consumption of the communication or message being transmitted by the actor and so the questions of how it is to be said,when it is to be said,where it is to be said, and who is to say it.

THE LEVEL OF ENVIRONMENT AGGREGATION

The media of transmission of the message include the following source: mission-literature, literary,travel-literature/narratives,schoolbooks etc.They can be directed towards an individual or towards the member of certain groups or even towards the general public. The process of communicating to an individual is usually a person to person relationship where the message can(be)strictly be tailored to the individual. The process of group communication is another familar situation and, finally the actor may be involved in public communication.In this process the general public is reached,mainly through one or two types of media of transmission. For example newspapers or the mission periodicals. The message involved are kept simple enough to be understood by an average person within the taget group.

EFFECTIVENESS AND INTEREST IN THE ENVIRONMENT

It is an established fact that persons at different levels of awareness and interest require different type of message and possibly media for effective influence. In the case of the Swedish image of Africa the environment appears to have passed through several stages in their contact with media of transmission. Most of the difference among the media of transmission appears to lie in their pattern of presentation.

Dorwin Cartwright's analysis of what happens psychologically when actors attempt to influence the behavior or attitude of the environment can be arranged in the following sequential situations.[8] In the first instance, in order to influence opinion a process must be initiated within the individual. These process are complex and interrelated,but in broad terms they have three main characteristics: a) The creation of a particular cognitive structure occurs, and this in turn creats b) a particular motivational structure, and c) the creation of a particular action or behavioral structure will occur.

To influence behavior from the outside also requirs the ability to influence the above determinants in one particular frame of reference or way.[9] Cartwright goes on to describe four specific steps that

must occur before the media of transmission exert their full influence. In the first place the message must reach the sense organs of the persons who are to be influenced. Secondly, in order that a given action be induced by mass-persuasion this action must be seen by the person as a path to some goal that he has. Thirdly, the message having reached the sense organs must be accepted as a part of the person's cognitive structure.Forthly, in order that a given action be induced an appropriate cognitive and motivational system must gain control of the persons behavior at a particular point in time.

EFFECTIVENESS IN THE ENVIRONMENT AND SOURCE OF COMMUNICATION

Certainly we know in general way that environment differ in their demografic and psychological characteristics. As one example of a potential relevant trait we might consider the degree of persuasibility within the environment. Should people be placed along a continuum from low to high persuasibility,persuasive communication would be largely wasted on some groups. In the case of its effectiveness the influence will bear on persons who accept external standard to guide their behavior, and persons who have a relatively weak self-confident appear to be more persuasible in our material,[10] the effect of school books was significant, and they could be said to have played a crucial role in terms of the strategy with regard to value formation since the student or school-pupil's reading these books had no previous knowledge about Africa.

Two strategic options exists with regard to the recipients and also with regard to media. One strategy public-directed, using media with a broad range and using an exoteric argumentation illustrated in our material by the political image dimension, that is the newspaper materials and also in the relational dimension that is the travel literature. The other strategy is taget-directed,preferring media designed for special groups and using an esoteric argumentation. In our material this was used in the mission-literature, the literary literature and the value socializing literature. Often the newspaper materials contains both exoteric and the esoteric argumentations. For example, a newspaper reporting the news of the world would use exoteric language, but the same paper's

editorial comments may be phrased esoterically in a "Group idiom" understandable only to a select group of readers. The dinstinction of layers as descriptive,evaluative and presciptive may be useful in this type of classification.

FACTORS DETERMINING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE IMAGES

The effectiveness of the images is influenced by the credibility and by the impact and power of the media of transmission.Credibility may rest on such qualities as trustworthiness and expertness. The second category comprises prestige and power. The travel literature for one contains some visible component of expertness. Secondly the mission literature and periodicals contain some components of trustworthiness. The daily press and the value socializing books contain elements of expertness,the literary and the ethnographic literature also contain some effectiveness.

The effectiveness of the images is determined by two groups of factors. In the first group the message is thought to be credible. The reason for a message being credible can be that it emanates from an expert or person with personal experience or that it has been very well argued or advocated or that it is very well visualized as for example by a literary writer.The recipient is prepared to accept the me ssage on its merit. In the second group the message is thought to be mandatory. The recipient is prepared to accept it because it emanates from people in a position of power or because members of the recipient's group accept it or exert pressure for its acceptance. The message is accepted less on its own merits as on its origins.

4.1 HOW IMAGES CAN AFFECT A RATIONAL CHOICE

We start here with the assumption that political actors project their message randomly with or without objective in mind.[11] However,it is highly probable that a communication contains some elements of objective or purpose.The aim of the empirical part of this thesis will be to analyze and rationally to explain image of Africa which was held

and projected by Swedish groups and further to explicate the motives and objectives behind them. These motives and objectives lead us to explore and rely on the theory of rational choice.

An ideal conception of rationality in this context would be the selection of preferred image alternatives in terms of some system of values whereby the consequences of such image could be evaluated.[12] In pleading for other models for studying images some authors tend to reject the model of rational choice outright by criticising its limitations. It is true that other models are useful in that they provide seperate focuses on political life.[13] A strong criticism of the theory of rational choice however, should not necessarily involve a total rejection. The critique advanced mainly concerns the complexities involved in the utilization of the rational theory. It is stated that the actual behavior or opinions do not wholly correspond to the formulation of theory. For instance, Charles Lindblom, in the course of presenting "the incremental model, is of the opinion.

> "...that the decision-makers do not annually review all the existing or proposed policies, decide goals, make a search of the benefit and costs of the alternatives open in achieving their goals." [14]

The main item of importance in the theory of rationality is the fact that it helps to identify barriers to rationality.[15] In order to avoid the self-defeating approach of accounting for all the complexities of the theory of rational choice we will do no more than to take a special note of the aspects relevant to this study.
Perhaps Simons conception of a means-end-chain summarizes these relevant aspects most concisely.[16] The fact that goals may be means to other distant ends gives them a status of selected options at a some other higher levels. Therefore, it will be quite logical that some or all the other selected alternatives of images in the study undertaken here are included in this other category of distant ends.

4.1.1 "SOCIO-DYNAMISM"+) AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE CONCEPT OF "SELF"

The concept of self is derived from the socio - dynamic point of view. At the next level of analysis emphasis will be laid upon its political strategic relevance in the area of self-preservation and self-extension. The attention to this will be concentrated in sub-section 4.2. Here, at the socio-dynamism level, it is our view that any analysis which ignores an objective investigation into the factors of the concept of self is to be regarded as incomplete.

G.H.Mead's views could be regarded as a contribution towards a coherent explanation of the human mind. For Mead, mind can only appear in human social behavior through the use of language and significant symbols which we preserve while listening to, or while taking part in discussing the controversy of the concept of self.

Reference could be made to Mead's concept of the self-emerging area in human relation.++) A more sociological orientation such as Mead's regards the self as predominantly social, and claims that the individual by implicitly taking the role of the other forms a conception of the self which is based upon, responses of others to himself, that is indicating that the self is a product of reflected appraisals.

Our main concern here is with the analysis of the concept of the self. The importance of what we term communication lies in the fact that it provides a form of behavior in which the individual may view the self as the others. Communication is to be taken or understood in the sense of it's significant symbols which are projected by the acting groups. That is communication is directed not only to the environment but also directed to the individual actors.[17)]

+) By socio-dynamism what is meant here is the sociological and psychological dimension particularly emphasized in the thinking of the Chicago school in the early 1930's.

++) For example, the attraction between electrons, protons and neutrons in the atom is for Mead an embryonic form of sociality.

In the self-analysis, the individual self is constituted simply by an organization of the particular attitudes of other individuals to himself and to one another in the specific social acts in which he participates with them. These social acts are always initiated from outside, that is, from the actors towards the environment, for example, through the spread of new ideas by various means or media. The primary unit of existence is the social acts. It is the self-caused, self-substaining on going behavior of the organism+) initiated by a want directed towards the end of satisfying the want or solving the problem by means of avaliable elements within the individual's social environment. The act consists of three stages a) impulse or projected need b) stimulus caused by mere interest, that which sets the impulse (want)free c) response to the stimulus terminating the chain of reactions set in motion by the impulse which selects the stimulus. The process of responding determines the way in which we receive impressions. The organism selects stimuli which set the response free. The stimulus is the answer to the impulse rather than the first cause of action. From this description of the act we can see that Mead has a dialectic view of the interaction of organism which we refer as actors and environment.

According to Mead the individual "self" is constituted also by an organization of social attitudes, of the generalized other or social norms.[18] Here Mead echoes Marx in his description of the human self which because it is a social self will increasingly identify with larger and larger groups, until it is completely fulfilled in a larger self or the universal other.[19]

One could see here that through the above explanations the actor and the environment have a continuous interaction and inasmuch as the environment is in contact with the media which we referred to as one

+) The actors are a type of an organic entity in relation to the environment.

of our source materials. By reading the materials they help to add to human experience. So these experiences within the individual could be classified as some knowledge of myths which is dialectic and so could be classified here as a set of axioms,such as the child analogies,civilization and all its strategic manifestations, that is the methods by which our actors applied European civilization as the main argument for communicating with the Swedish environment. In actual life situations the self in its "I"[++] and "me" aspects from an integral unity which Mead calls the personality. It is when this personality is manifestely expressed for the environment that its effects are felt.It is then expresed to the environment by the actors in several types of myths or dialectic ambiguities.

4.2 THE RELEVANCE OF THE SELF-PRESERVATION AND SELF-EXTENSION GOALS

The choice of Arnold Wolfers classification of goals in our communication model of images is relevant because human nature is such that men,as individuals and as nations,acts like beasts of prey, driven by an insatiable lust for power or animus dominandi.Their will for power,moreover,when transferred from small and frustrated individuals to the collectivity of the environment,takes greater dimensions and generates an all - round struggle for survival.[+] Nearly three decades ago Arnold Wolfers suggested a three-fold division.[20]

++) "I" = novelty i.e. something unusual.
+) See: Hans J.Morgenthan,(1946) Scientific man Vs. power politics Chicago,especially the chapter on "Selfishness and lust for power", pp.191-201.

We shall limit this to a two-fold division in order to suit our empirical model. The two types are self-preservation and self-extension goals.The self-preservation type of goals express an endeavour to preserve the credibility of the sources, that is some"vital interest". The self-extension goals were expressed in the ideas or arguments.But so were the goals of self-preservation too.The self-extension goals may be for more "power as an end in itself" and the domination over other peoples or territorial expansion. These diverse views or arguments also serve a powerful political strategy in the area of ideological self-extension,particularly in religion and culture,for instance the missionary activities as political agents.[21)]

4.3 SUMMARY

We have here established for our empirical level of analysis two relevant sets of analysis: George Mead's first and second levels of self-analysis and Arnold Wolfers' two-fold division of the self-preservation and the self-extension goals.These sets of analysis assist us in the establishment and the application of a communication model of images. The importance of directing our research to the field of communication seems well founded. The identification of a pattern recognition within the channel or media of communication assists the researcher in identifying qualitatively and quantitatively the diverse types of arguments that are being advanced. In other words,we could so far classify the study and research on images as an esotric enterprise in the study of international political relations.

CHAPTER

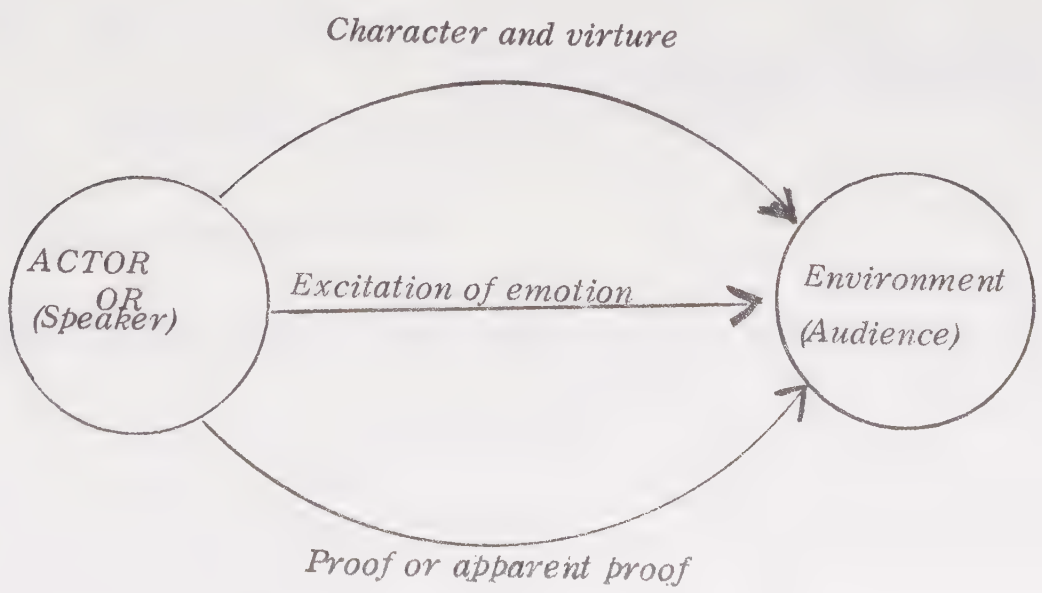
5 RHETORICAL AND PERSUASIVE IDEAS MODELS

INTRODUCTION

Before we can proceed into a detailed analysis here our first objective will be to construct a tentative classification scheme which will indicate the analytical dimensions of the empirical materials. To this end we have organized our empirical materials.To this end we have organized our empirical material in three classes of what we shall here designate as 'persuasive ideas' or persuasive communication since we are dealing with communication and idea - image - shaping of a rather special kind. Persuasive communication can be said to take place when an actor consciously arranges his messages and choice of media to have a calculated effect on the attitude or behavior of a specific environment.The persuasion process has been of interest to politicians, missionaries,educators,reformers,demogogues,negotiators,administrators, military men.

The two types of persuasive models are 1) the rhetorical and 2) the persuasive idea models. The two models might give us more insight into the communication - persuasion process.

Figure: 4a THE RHETORICAL MODEL



The rhetorical model received its original formulation in the hands of Aristotle over twenty centuries ago in his rhetoric. It is a model designed for the situation where a speaker is addressing an audience.+) This situation also applies ,for example to a social scientist or a missionary addressing a congregation of persons for worship in a church. Rhetoric is the faculty of determining the most effective means of persuasion in a given case. Aristotle distinguished three modes of persuasion avaliable to an actor; the use of his character to make his speech credible, the exitation of desired emotion in the environment and proof or apparent proof.

The next is the persuasive ideas model:

Figure : 4b A MODEL OF PERSUASIVE IDEAS

Descriptive	*A seemingly simple and straightfoward account of circumstances, natural, psychological, social, political, religious e.t.c.*
Evaluative	*An evaluation of these circumstances according to criteria (explicit or implicit) usually related to certain values*
Prescriptive	*Guide or advice as to what to do., how to act e.t.c. Given these circumstances and this evaluation*

+) See: Richard Mckenon (1947) Introduction to Aristotle. New York:p.620

The pursuit of ideas and rhetorics as could be noticed in the two figures above are however organized with various arguments. Arne Naess, in his carefully written book,communication and argument' argued that "...arguments are appeals to rationality in the light of its factual contents".[1] In other words,arguments should be seen as the element of expression which has the potential to convince people in rational discussion about the contents and consequences of the view-point advanced in such discussions.

For arguments to be of a rational type it should be more usual,however,for them to acquire their force or weight over a period of time.[2] Secondly, in order to convey the full meaning and expressions of these arguments we have broken them down in the groups where arguments could be found in our model of persuasive ideas in figure 4b. In the descriptive layer arguments are usually very sparse. In the evaluative layer arguments are used but it is not always explicit. The evaluation is often made by way of referring to criteria or norms which seem self-evident or to be in the nature of things. In the prescriptive layer, one would expect to find more explicit argument than in the other layers since a prescription usually is developed like a logical conclusion or deduction from given premises. But a persuasive intent and a persuasive use of ideas is to be found in all the three layers.

In the descriptive layer persuasion can be achieved by vividness and coloration of accounts . In the evaluative layer the values and crateria held by a group are persuasively used as points of reference and explicit argumentation may also be wielded as weapons.In the prescriptive layer persuasion is effected by making the prescription appear logical or inevitable or best suitable to achieve accepted goals.

So far the present approach has left out theproblem of credibility of the statements of the political actors. The task of testing the truth of a statement claiming the existence of certain circumstances would be performed by showing that these circumstances did actually exist. In other words the empirical evidence would determine the truth if a statement.In a paper "objectivity and reconstruction in History" Sidney Hook emphasised that...

> "...what makes a historical account truer than another..., is whether it does justice to the evidence by means of a method and criteria of relevance, which do not differ fundamentally from the way in which conclusions are confirmed in other field, like medicine or geology." [3]

Coming to what historical sociology is Stanley Hoffman and Raymond Aron have effectively propagated the method of historical sociology as the systematic use of qualitative case studies in testing theories comparatively.[4] We shall proceed inductively in this thesis before we reach to any conclusion about the general trend manifest throughout history. This means that we shall resort to a systematic historical research in sorting out our empirical materials in order to accomplish the task of reconstructing what Raymond Aron has termed the historical situation. In other words, we are in search of subjective facts or realities. A statement of fact is true if and only if it claims that certain circumstances existed (and it can be shown that these circumstances existed) and it can be shown that these circumstances actually exist.[5]

5.1 PATTERN RECOGNITION ANALYSIS

As previously mentioned we have indicated that pattern recognition analysis is a general and comprehensive term covering a large variety of elements for mapping out structures in our model.

A pattern recognition has been defined as a mapping of a large detailed complex description of an event into a simple description,[6]

when recognizing a new object one will first try answers which apply to similar patterns, that is, the system should benefit from its past experience. Since we cannot expect new objects to be precisely the same as old ones, the learning process must involve generalization on past experience. Selfridge has brought out the relationship of pattern recognition as... the classification of a data set into learned categories, and learning as the aquisition of feasible operational definitions of the categories.[7]

It has been recognized in recent years that the problem of pattern recognition can be viewed as a test of statistical hypothesis. While

this strategy may be helpful in a more ambitious studies, such as in quantitative research,pattern recognition analysis here will be assumed to assist in the identification of the complexity if ideas in both qualitative and quantitative terms. This applies to the six argument - persuasive ideas variables under examination.+)

The problem of pattern recognition is that of classifying or labelling a group of subjects on the basis of certain subjective requirements. These objectives classified into the same pattern class usually have some common properites. The classification requirements are, however, subjective since different types of classification occurs in different situation.

In other words, one could classify pattern recognition analysis as a field concerned with theorising, and in no way concerned with numerical taxonomy which is a sub-discipline of statistics as suggested by Sneath.8)

The same classification scheme could be used in the natural sciences as well as in the behavioural,economic and social sciences, but such an approach is beyond the scope of this work, which involves an analytic approach rather than a focasting approach.++) However, such an approach will lead us into an unexplored field lying somewhere in the realm of logic. The analysis of the ideologies internalized by our actors would profit from such an approach because political ideas play an important role when the actors are to choose, as rationally as possible, means and ends as a basis for their policy position or decision-making. To a very large extent empirical evidence would determine the truth of such statements that will portray the subjective fact or reality which we seek to study.

+) From the huge amount of literature on the subject of pattern recoginition, the following sets of sentences may be selected as reflecting different attitudes to what a pattern recoginition really is Gelfand et al (1976) have described pattern recognition as , ... an unexplored field lying somewhere between logic and statistics. See: Gelfand et al: Pattern recognition applied to earthquake epicenters in Califonia.

++) A pattern recognition model for economic forecasting was presented by Fogler in an article he described a model for forecasting in

THE EMPIRICAL LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

5.2 THE AFFECTIONAL IMAGE+)

The term "affectional" refers to the purpose which according to the missionary circles, motivated their work in Africa. In general terms affectional refers to the disposition of the mind and its good will, in other words, the motivation for loving and the role of being fond of other individuals. This, in turn involves the sacramental principals, such as confirmation, baptism and the notion of being born again in christ.

5.2.1 TECHNIQUES IN THE DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA'S NATURAL BACKGROUND

In quantitative terms affectional writing showed only a marginal interest in Africa's natural circumstances. Most of the books treated in great detail the circumstances in the Southern,[1] Central[2] and Eastern[3] parts of Africa that is in the areas where religious and missionary work had long been in operation and where such work was organized by the Swedish Lutheran missions. The affectional view-points were differentiated in their view with regard to important developments in the African continent. More attention was given to Southern Africa than the Central and Eastern parts of Africa.+++) It is relevant at this point to take a closer look at the description in affectional literature of Africa's natural background. It will be seen that this mode of description tended to add a dimension of pure physical survival to the task, anduous in itself, of converting pagan peoples to Christianity. Africa's natural background was indicated as uncomfortably warm, and dry.[4] This in turn was very

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Foot notes continued:++) managerial science. The effects of pre-classifying economic observations into more homogeous groups were examined. In some examples where expected industrial production six months ahead was employed as the dependent variables this approach was shown to add substantial improvment to the forecasting accuracy of the researcher. See Fogler (1974) Management science 20 pp.1178 - 1189.

+) In the period 1905 to 1914 between 140 - 160 titles were published

representative of the circumstances that actually pravail in those part of Africa.

Moreover, the extremely unhealthy weather was seen as deadly dangerous for Europeans. Most Swedish missionaries suffered from the effect of malaria. A case inpoint was the Lijestrand family which suffered from this illness and was forced back from Rhodesia to Dundee in South Africa.[5] When it came to giving reasons for the illness suffered by missionaries,[+] most of the affectional sources resorted to earlier knowledge, such as the great humidity produced by heavy rains and inundations, the exuherant vegetation caused by fervid heat in rich moist soil and the prodigions amount of decaying vegetable matter, anually exposed after inundation to the rays of a torrid sun, with a flat surface often covered by forest through which the winds cannot pass.[6] All these factors were said to combine to render the African climate far from salubrious for"any portion" of the human family.

This prevailing conception of Africa as a dangerous place for human beings also implied that the continent was described as a heaven for wild animals[7] However, the portrayal of Africa as being filled by wild animals also served to convey some false impression. One assertion can be confidently made namely that most of the writers had not got the depth knowledge nedded for proclaming themselves experts on the subject of "Africa fauna". Surely, the techniques and knowledge they often displayed was largely based on 'tales' such as that of the abundant wild life awaiting any European visitor to Africa and furth-

in this group. The selection has been 11 from Africa's source materials and also missionary periodicals, the weekly magazines and family journals from the year 1905 to 1914. 3 books are chosen for the purpose of analysis. The selection of the source materials was made by random sampling largely by the titles.

+++) Despite the fact that South Africa had a large population of Europeans due to it's Mediterranean mild weather, still the coastal belts of Natal and Zululand received a very scant attention See: Karlgren.A:(1909) Svenska Kyrkans mission i Syd-Africa pp.5-9

more that crocodiles[8] and hippopotami[9] being abundantly found anywhere in Africa as they were never hunted.

The use of such techniques in the description of Africa's natural background is that it added another problem to that of missionary work. It also includes the climate and different people, that is , a double complex problem.

5.2.1.1 STRATEGIC TECHNIQUES IN THE CHARACTERIZATION OF AFRICANS

In the affectional narratives emphasis was laid mainly on the inner qualities,such as the character of christian African's,for example their eagerness (towards to hard) work as evangelists. Their outer characteristics were ignored, thus attention to their personal commitments and their belief-systems was conspicuously lacking.For example it was not uncommon that most African evangelists also continued to live in their traditional ways of life while at the same time working in the company of European missionaries as evangelists.However, the European missionaries were quite uncomfortable with such practices.

Africans were generally portrayed as the "heathen niggers".[10] The emphasis was placed on "heathen",it was not a man's race or outlook that was the deciding factor in the assessment of a man but religion.[11] This not withstanding, it is possible to detect also affectional literature attitudes more attuned to those of colonialism and imperialism,thus in Bishop Hjalmer Danell's ...the natives he emphasised had sunk to great want and need of help.[12+] The above comments by Danell is sufficient branding him an accomplice of colonialism due to the fact that when the question of fact is asked,such as;Whose consent did Danell seek before concluding that the natives had sunk to great want and need?. The answer is no one and therefore Danell was using his observations during his Africa visits as a strategy,for example, to attract more European missionaries into Africa since he observed the interest of African's towards European religion. It was

therefore wise on his side by concluding that it was not a mans' race or outlook that was the deciding factor in the assessment of a man but religion.The missionaries were generally praised for their courageous labours of sacrifice in African society. On the other hand, Bishop Danell's description and his analysis of the heathen Africans is explicitly noted.[12+)]

Liljestrand[+)] one of the Rhodesian missionary worker when questioned on why he loved working amongst the sunken natives of the Vakaranga's replied simply "... I love them for the sake of Jesus".

A most significant comment on the works of the missionaries was made by Anton Karlgren:

> "...many mistakes have been made by indivdual missionaries, they have destroyed all the good qualities that the noble savage possesses. On the one end, a new class has been created which pays allegience to civilization and Christianity. Some noble savages have emerged to form a special class,which stands high as the noble savage's intellectual and moral representatives"[13)]

All these qualities,it was said,differentiated them from their brothers within the same country. They formed a special class greatly different from their pagan brothers. The alternatives were Christian civilization or falling back into the sub-human stage of evolution.

+) Before Liljestrand left Rhodesia he bought on behalf of the mission a large area of land south of Belingwe. The minning company that possessed the land sold the area of 600 acres of land at the cost of 600 pounds equivalent to (S.kr.6.000) See: Karlgren Op.cit.p.496,p.24 Mission.Axel H.Liljestrand was born on June 13,1830 in Tjureda congregation in Småland,Sweden. His father was an organist and a folkschool teacher.His deep commitment to Christianity was generated by his elder sister. See: Till Ditt Rike" On the topic of Liljestrand minnesanteckning.For some notes on Liljestrand biography See: Svenska Kyrkan mission tidningen or(SMN) (1904) p.411, 291 (1908) p.57

5.2.2 THE APPRAISAL OF AFRICANS IN AFFECTIONAL LITERATURE

Evangelism the practice (method) of bringing about conversion by preaching the gospel was seen as the factor, which finally determine how a African should be judged, either as wild or as civilized, bad or good,clever or stupid.When an African had undergone baptism he was on the right side. Evangelism - conversion work (conducted now by baptised Africans) was the next step in missionary work.The African evangelists were given a prominent place in affectional thinking:, The sacramental principles of Christianity was used as a decisive mechanism in the judgement on Africans in the affectional image. Baptism as the primary or initial ritual which placed the individual on the side of the good. The African envangelists are the most highly esteemed in affectional literature. The affectionals regarded the African evangelists as men who were going to be important figures in a future Africa.

African evangelism had a few elements that caught the attention of the affectional groups. Thus Vilhelm Sköld's[14a)] described the African evangelists as being gifted and intellegent...

> "...Amongst the African evangelists there is the willingness to learn and constantly they cry for more instructions"[14b)]

Grogan and Sharp, on the contrary, indicated after having lived for many years in Africa with the natives, that they regarded the African as fundamentally inferior to the white man in mental development and ethical potential.[14c)] Grogan and Sharp continued by asserting that if a native was told to do anything and that it was within the bounds of diabolical ingenuity to do it wrong. They would do it wrong as their mental reasoning had not changed from the primitive stage.

Evangelism was deemed to be the mechanism that compelled the natives to change for good. The task of European envangelism had been to make the Africans to live a clean life. The Christian missionaries had always been the promoters of civilization. For the natives civilization had no meaning. It has been the European evangelist missionaries which had lifted them up to civilization"by wondrously changing their

way of life".

The quality most frequently attributed to the African natives by affectional opinion was cruelty. The affectional image was totally negative on this point. It was no wonder to them that the Africans were cruel. Cruelty being a basic attribute of the primitive pagan and as a cliche this view was strongly held throughout the source(s) materials. But the cruelty portrayed in the affectional literature was of a special nature.This was related to the fact that such description had some designated function in order to justify European colonialism. Although to colonial masters it would have mattered little whether the natives were cruel among themselves but to a very large extent it mattered because what the European colonialism needed was a fragile peace in other to accomplish it goals and objectives.

It could also be connected to a particular idea complex. The central theme in it was that of a nuclear family which was considered to be basis in society insofar as the individual is first and prime commitments were related to her members. Moreover, the first and foremost virture was that of up-bringing a child as a Christian whose main obligation, in turn would be that of obidience towards the parents. The type of cruelty attributed to the Africans was contrasted to this idea complex.

The cruelty of the African it was first and foremost directed towards the members of the family, old parents, and towards the elderly who were abandoned should the family "ndugu" or relation become sick or otherwise incapable of taking part in the battle of life. They were left to take care of themselves, and everything was devoted to the sustence of those who were still viable.[16)]

> "...In this respect the nigger is inferior to the elephant,who will at considerable risk to himself endeavour to assist a wounded comrade on the field of battle".[17)]

In its emphasis on the brutality of the heathen natives this mode of description had a specific function,namely to be an instrument for opinion-building. This type of instrument for opinion-building could

further be demonstrated in the comparison between African cruelty and that of the Portuguese and the Spanish.

> "...Their lack of sense of pity is shown in their brutal treatment of animals,or the sick, and those who are too old to work. Even the Portuguse or Spanish treatment of animals is Christian compared to a natives method. They are inpervious to the offering of others and rather regard them as a joke."18)

Hjalma Danell's report of his inspection tour to South Africa confirms this particular type of characterization and the desire for this type of opinion-building shown by the authors of the affectional narratives. The attributes also included those of drunkness and immorality.[19] The African's attitude towards the missionaries was described as basically/deeply hostile. The natives who turned hostile to the missionaries were furnished with a whole series of vicious qualities. The natives who cooperated with the missionaries were viewed in a more favourable manner,i,e. the Africans who had been converted into Christianity or were otherwise friendly to the missionaries. Vilhems Sköld's description of the African evangelist was most positive in tune.[20] Partly due to his contact with the converted African christians and African evangelists.

It is fair to say that the conception of the Africans expressed in affectional literature was predominantly based on stereotypes(tearing in mind the preceding positive sentence)'However,it should be remembered that,in most instances, the conception of the Africans expressed in affectional literature was basically stereotyped.There was a widespread use of stereotypes connecting the Africans to a series of negative qualities.In comparative term,however, the affectional literature could be said to be the most positive in tone among the writings encountered within the period under examination .(Except in their middle range goals,such as)the 'land policy' as we had found much evidence earlier with the Belingwe people and in their political strategic techniques in the characterization of Africans by playing off one group of Africans against the so-called pagans or in their own words the 'heathen-nigger's'.

The affectional viewpoint was not predominantly racist. Africans were regarded as capable of meeting some requirments, such as a change of life leading towards the European norms and he was accepted to a very large extent provided he conformed to these norms. In short the African was accepted provided he alienated himself from his own cultural-settings.

5.2.2.1 MISSIONARY OBJECTIVES AND THE AFRICAN CHRISTIANS

As previousely mentioned the views on the christian Africans had been extremely positive due to their acceptance of the christian virtures.It could be said that we have come across the primary objectives of European missionaries,that of converting of Africans to Christinaity.

In the process of describing the African Christians, this description became so diverse and positive, that these descriptions could be used to confirm that the missionary activities was making progress in Africa.However,in affectional literature we find the picture of a primitive savage who would be hoplessly lost if he was not saved. As the native Africans were rather assumed to have sunken deeply and it was Christian duty to save them. On the whole it could be assumed that this type of description of Africans also served as a kind of documentation on the effects and results of the missions.As such they may have served the purpose of bolstering monetary contributions to the missionaries in their task.

The particular virtures with which the African Christians had been endowed were those of endurance,drive and a large amount of sacrifice for believing and doing their duty.

> "...the native Christians have with wonders and belief held fast onto Jesus despite the laughter and scorn of their elders, threatening and persuasions..."21)

The employment of native evangelists and missionaries was frequently mentioned in the sources,but their achievements were placed in the dark as they never mentioned.Missionaries of European descents were praised all through both their lives and works were narrated

in detail. Unfortunately, most affectional writers never took the pains of really coming close to their African colleagues in their lives and work.

The absence of such accounts could be taken as an indication of the ethnocentrism that we have already indicated. As already said the activities of the African evangelists and missionaries were judged entirely positive but the fact remained that the Africans and Europeans were both assigned for mission work in Africa but still the Africans remained under the surveillance of the European missionaries.[22)]

The above viewpoints about the Africans stems from the description of the situation of the missionaries in Ethiopia and South Africa. Between 1900 and 1901, the Swediah East African mission had employed 33 Swedish missionaries, 18 men of which 13 were ordinary mission workers. At the same time 28 natives had been employed in mission works out of which only 4 were ordinary mission workers, and 2 women, but we lack the knowledge of the total number of the missionaries including both natives and Europeans.[23)]

The above viewpoints about the Africans well illustrates the lack of interest by the European missionaries to clearly document the level of Christian Africans particpation, in mission works.

5.3 AN APPRAISAL OF AFRICAN CULTURE AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The African society stands as the central interest in some affectional literature. In the assessment of African culture. The description advanced in two ways. On the one hand, the traditions and customs were condenmed; African customs were regarded as pegan and were seen as a typically freightenning example of the African backwardness. As a result, this type of mission literature served the purpose of encouraging European colonialism and imperialist adventures into Africa under the guise of a civilizing mission.[24)] On the otherhand it was the missionaries that who among the Europeans were the only ones who attempted, with the permission of the colonial masters, directly to reach the native Africans. So it was very essential for them to appear

as very knowledgeable in the matter of African customs and traditions.The account of African tribes and African society provided in affectional literature was thorough but consistently negative.

African material culture was viewed as essentially positive,but as the description approached the African social and moral laws including both the norms and the ethics which governs the society the image became abruptly cut off in the sense that nothing was further said on African material culture. We have earlier emphasised the key role that the missions played in effecting changes in African customs in making the Africans alienate themselves from their own cultural settings and approach the European culture.This development was quite unfortunate, as it estranged the Africans from their own culture without making them full partners in another.

The fundamental tenet in the Christian churches , Catholic as well as Luthern,was the sacramental principles. These involved a radical change of the individual through the concept of being born again into an entirely new life.

As previously mentioned the Luthern church laid a strong emphasis on the change of the newly converted Christians into a new life inbued the Christian norms of conduct.[25] The Christian norms included the standards which were set up by the church with regard to family life, for economic union and for the relationship between human being and his fellow men.It could be assumed that these norms were sets of strategy which guided the missionaries in their mission works in Africa in order to allow them to achieve greater success.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Livingstone argued that missionaries should not be brought into Africa. He emphasised however, that the importation of evangelist mission into Africa had been a continuation of the works of civilizing the natives in the continent.[26] Livingstone's view attracted much attention and became an important rationale for European colonization of Africa.It could be seen that it was against this background that the church and the affectional acting groups came to represent an opposing force to Africa's traditional customs branding them as rash or superficial.For example, due

to the warm climatic conditions in Africa the act of covering the upper-part of the body with the clothing was usually an uncomfortable exercise in the hot seasons for both men and women.Often at this period the society was engaged in festivities. This process brought both sexes in very close contact; with each other. As the missionaries saw such close contacts they condenmed the traditional dances and branded them as indecent.[27)]

The African political system as described in affectional literature had the same characteristics as the European systems, especially in the sense of having the same type of a stratified structure. In essence,however,it could not be compared with the European style of kingdom. The latter had a locus of absolute power, the former had traditionally laid emphasis on the element of tribes in which the chiefs and headmen assumed the formal leadership.[28)]

In this cultural and political context the activities of the missionaries in Africa inevitably took on political significance in a sense, as pointed out by Kraemer.

> "...The missionary is a revolutionary and he has to be so, for to preach and plant Christianity means to make a frontal attack on the beliefs, the customs, the apprehensions of life and the world, and by implication because tribal religions are primarily social realities on the social structure and bases of primitive society.[29)]

Kramer concludes by emphasising that the missionaries appeal to all people to transplant their life-foundation into a totally different spiritual soil,and so they must be revolutionary.

In view of this type of impact that the missionaries imposed on the social structure of African society it is easy to see the political activities of the missionaries in Africa as complex revolutionaries, in the sense that African society was undergoing some fundamental changes as any other society in the world and so was exposed to the European cultural impact mainly through religion. The missionaries worked in collaboration with colonial administrators,planters and merchants as agents of western political and economic penetration. They were,however,counter-revolutionaries in the sense that it was

their anti-revolutionary preachings to the Africans that helped cool down the revolutionary defence mechanism at a period when Africans were fighting against colonial soldiers.This led finally to their defeat by colonial armies.All these performed a distructive and severe attack on the whole social structure and the bases of African society to fall apart+)[30] When outside influence overwhelmed the societies the local sub-chiefs and the soldiers no longer paid allegiance to the community chiefs and the political fragmentation of(the) society and general disorderliness occured.So far our inquiry has centered on the central importance of such strategic objectives as the acculturation of native way of life and the accompanying effect of creating disorder in the system.

5.3.1 AFFECTIONAL STRATEGIC VIEWS ON POLYGAMY

The greatest problem within African society was indicated to be polygamy. The mission literature deeply condemned this type of practices, and it also agreed that such practices constituted a specific hindrance to the spread of Christianity.[31] This view continued in the following analysis.

> "With regard to the Zulu women the opportunity for success in life is related to the promise of marriage. Marriage for her, partly for giving birth to children. It often occurs that a Zuluman gets seperated from one of his wives".[32]

This viewpoint could be found in the most intellectual and understanding of the mission newspaper.The Svenska kyrkans mission tidning.

+In the traditional African village democracies power rested solely in the community chiefs.For a very long period of time the society survived through the payment of allegiance by the subjects to the community chiefs. Solidarity existed also within the diversified society and the ethinic groups

As already pointed out the religious literature laid strong emphasis on the family ideology as a result it condenmed the pagan society specifically with regard to how women were maltreated. According to this description a woman was directly under the survellance of the man, and marriage was nothing but a trade agreement. A man regarded his wife as a helper, and the woman bowed herself under his man for fear of flogging.[33] The underlying reasons for this was that in the pagan society strife and every kind of evil prevailed. In this connection slavery was often mentioned. The mission and the European progress in Southern, Eastern and Central Africa was often mentioned as a crusade against slave trade.[34]

Within the period examined in this thesis comments on slave trade had by this time largely subsided but the mission literature alone among the examined literature placed some emphasis on it because they relied on outdated sources. Slave trade was regarded as having corrupted the native population and as having created enomous wastes. Mohamedanism was seen as a sort of wildfire which ought to be contained and stopped from spreading due to the fact that it supported the concept of polygamy.[35]

5.3.1.1 ON AFRICAN RELIGION

In missionary work abroad the primary and ever present enemy is native religion,and it is not to be expected that the Swedish missionaries would have any positive view of African traditional religion. In fact, they regarded it as a sham, and their opinion on it were extremely negative. But when compared with the other sources affectional literature could be rated as the most revealing because it was in close touch with most fundamental aspects of African culture and society.

Traditional African religion was summarized and was referred to as alarming.[36]

> "...all that it consists of is alarming and it could harm any human being. This fetish seems to be immortal. The Africans seem to reconcile the fetish's immortal existence with offerings and gifts, so that they will go unhurt.[37]

To identify with the pagans was seen as identifying with cruelty and something very alarming due to their belief in fetishes.[38] To the pagans the dreadful object was the spirit, which they understood as their enemy and therefore appeased with sacrifice. The spirit or fetish was termed a malicious object which operated as witchcraft. The natives offered thanks to their ancestral spirits, and this showed clearly their need of coming in direct contact with more powers in order to protect them from being harmed by the other powers.[39]

The writings reviewed above show that the African religion was portrayed as a dreadful type of religion in contrast to Christianity.

In affectional thinking great emphasis was laid on the Christian religion as a norm and the African religion was valued higher the closer it related to the normative beliefs of the Europeans.

5.3 3 EUROPEANS IN AFRICA

The Europeans that the Swedish mission literature regarded in the most positive light were the British.[40] They were looked upon as the most humane in their drive to eradicate slavery. The most negatively described groups were the Boers of South Africa who were accused to be the main enemy of the missionaries because of their cruel actions and deeds against African natives.[41] In the judgment of the Europeans with regard to their professions the general tendency was to rate the missionaries as the most valuable group. The traders and the administrators were accused of supplying the natives with alcoholic beverages which facilitated their exploitation of the natives.[42]

It could be concluded that the missionaries who went to Africa in order to convert the natives to a European form of religion did actually assist in the penetration of imperialism and the spread of materialism among the native population. However, this view is debatable. We do not know in how broad terms the missionaries conceived their civilising mission. In any way the state of primitivity of the natives was over exaggerated by European missionary workers. On the other hand the Africans could have been left in peace by Europeans. The question here is why was it necessary only to spread only Christian

mission and trade to Africa? The obvious reasons must have been rationally to achieve economic goals in the end.

5.3.3.4 SUMMARY

The affectional literature could be viewed as positive to Africa. It viewed all human being as potentially equal in its opinion on how the African christians conformed to Christian dogmas. It could be added that the mission literature had extensive first-hand information, since most of its practioners had been resident in Africa for over a decade at any one time.

As a result this type of literature was rich in valuable knowledge. Its description of the natives as heathen pagans this was done in order that the native non-christians should be discredited or blackmailed into conformity. In a way this could also be related to a lack of understanding and a misconception or even gross misinterpretations of prevailing conditions in Africa. We have seen how the affectional literature tended to react in seeking to achieve its objectives and perform its tasks through diverse techniques, (such as it middle range-goals) and through the practice of the civilising mission or tutulage. The civilising mission really needed the cooperation of the Africans without any centrifugal forces such as the colonial soldiers, but it finally assisted in the destruction of the African social system by pushing it christian dogmas too far.

5.3.2 THE LITERARY IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

This category comprises the fiction literature.+) The term refers to the ability to create, mainly through imagination, persons, emotions, ideas, events or situations in such a manner that they appear as real or existing. The source included the trivial literature which were mainly read by the populace and the children as well as adventure or adult literature.

We now turn to the descriptions and debates in the sources. This task has been undertaken by the means of treating all the sources in a general manner. Before continuing our analysis of the literary literature it has been deemed necessary to review here some contributions made by some of these writers. Grandlund's[1] writings dealt with Africa and the Africans. His writings could be classified as having the character of best seller novels. Another literary writer was Janek; almost all his writings were concentrated on the South Africa. Janek among others, wrote extensively on the Boers, he himself having once been a prisoner in the hands of the British during the war between the Boers and the British in South Africa.[2]

There was rather a general agreement among the authors as to the fact of the existence of distinctive characteristics in the Africans. Although the particular traits mentioned depended somewhat on the writer's ideological position. For example, Grandlund's writings gave prominence to such aspects of the Africans' character as their being big children, and Janek dealt with the cruel rule of the Boers in South Africa and their maltreatment of the natives. However, stereotypes of African traits abounded: laziness, improvidence, rowdiness,

+) From 1905 to 1914 516 fiction works were published out of which 4 were selected by chance from their titles. In the present research this category was first used in combination with another, that is, with the ethnographic literature. Later it was decided that the fiction merited a separate analysis despite the admittedly narrow base.

sexual looseness, superstition love of music etc. With few exceptions the traits ascribed to the Africans were condensed in unfavourable or derogatory terms. Almost all the authors who had attributed specific trait to the Africans assumed or implied that the traits were inborn, or racial in the true sense of the word. For example, Grandlund described the Africans as superstitious.

> "...they make sacrifice to their fetish with chicken, pots along the road. This practice is frighteening"3)

Africa was presented as an adventure land, for instance, Janek asserted.

> "...In South Africa particularly in Johannesburg gold is in abundant and Europeans migrated to South Africa for gold..."4)

Janek, as most of the Scandinavians went to South Africa during the war between the Boers and the British from 1899 to 1900.

5.3.1 THE PHYSICAL EXTERIOR OF THE AFRICANS

The agreement over the natural background and the Africans appeared to be very important in the litary literature. Comparison of African women with European was frequent. The men were also compared. Generally, the faces of Africans were regarded as similar to those of apes.5) Furthermore, the sources generally agreed on the question that the blacks were well-built but with ugly faces.

This notion of the blacks being particularly well-built goes back to the days of slavery. At that period it was generally the physical exterior of the slave that decided his price in the market. The generalization of the African's exterior as resembling that of theape led to grave consequences as it was made in arbitary manner rather than according to precise quantitative measurement.+) However, quantitative measurement could hardly be expected in the novels.

+) Levi-Strauss a structuralist-analyst in contemporary social thought has called such quantitative measurements 'human mathematics' "...the mathematics which establish rigorous relations between classes of individuals seperated by discontinous values, discontinuity being characteristics or of the same racial pigmentation.

5.4 AGREEMENT OVER THE AFRICAN CHARACTER

The most conspicicuous characteristics of the Africans were described as blood-thirst and cruelty.[6] This type of characterization was so common in the literary literature that we could classify it as a type of collective measurement of all Africans. The basis of African cruelty, according to the literary literature is contained in assertions such as the following.

> "...war often signifies to the Africans a way to satisfy their blood thirst, and cruelty is seen as a latent element in the nature of the Africans.[7]

At this point it seems appropriate to raise the question of relevance. On what grounds was it that Africans were characterised as cruel, or in other words, how real was this stereotyped characterization?; In the literary literature that has been reviewed in this work all are in agreement on their characterization of Africans. This appliesmore precisely, to works written well before 1900 and those written after the turn of the century.[8] For example, Löwendler's description of the Africans' method of fighting their European enemies are as follows:-

> "...they are merceless on their enemies and they treat him with all cruel hands as they take advantage of him..." 9)

The fact is that from the earliest period of African history the natives had been preoccupied with internal slave trade and inter-ethnic wars just as was the case in Europe during the years of continuous wars, such as the 30 years war. It could be concluded(that) and as well remembered that African society was not wholly static but had its own historical development. The western impact was

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Foot notes contd: One of the essential properties of qualitative ensembles which distinguish them from one another".
Nevertheless, this type of mathematical procedure will far more be advanced before their validity is put to any scientific test here
See: Levi Strauss C: Les mathématiques de I homme esprit p.532.
Cited from S.Hoffman

sudden and was felt through such activities as the missionary enterprise,colonial administration and commercial penetration which were met with hostility and cruelty from the natives.[10)]

Often when such stereotyped character traits were used on the Africans by the Europeans there purpose was to suit the European political opinion. It was towards the supporters of European expansionist tendencies and policies that such unanimous views were often directed in order to propagate the idea as expressed by Kamke, that

> "...the Africans ought to be saved against the cruelty of their own race..."[11)]

It is within such a context that the notion of cruelty served the purpose of defending colonialism and imperialism. Kamke's view was representive of the African image of the literary literature. In emphasising cruelty and blood-thirst the purpose was also to provide a psychological justification for some acts of cruelty that were being commited by Europeans against Africans, such as forced labour and economic exploitation of seasonal labour.[12)]

The heavy emphasis on cruelty noticeable in the literature permits one to say that this description referred to a kind of collective African personality. Cruelty was also persived to be culturally conditioned as it was related to the violent methods which the Africans adopted in warding off uninvited guests.[13)]The literary literature's attitude towards the cruelty and blood-thirst was, however, not well defined.

Naturally,the cultural conditions of the Africans were seen as generating cruelty towards a collective uninvited guest the Europeans were condemned .But when the same notion of defensive cruelty was applied to Europeans it was highly praised , for instance, when it involved the Europeans annexing African territories. This was well demonstrated in the case of South Africa or the annexation of the Kaffers,Zulus and Basutus. Sometimes a corps of 500 Europeans volunteers were formed with objective of taking the control of a new country.[14)]

However, it was precisely on these cultural condition that the literary literature laid so much emphasis in the case of the Zulus and the Ashanties,that is on the conditions which produced courage and bravery in fighting.The Zulus,during their war with the Boers and the Ashanties against the British colonial soldiers.[15] These races were seen as strong because they existed as pastoral war tribes.

The examined literature was unanimous in the conception of African cruelty and military capability as a matter of fact which contained both good and bad qualities.The negative traits in African character were represented by such qualities as cunning,insidiousness and blood-thirst.[16]

In the trivial literature the personal characteristics of the Africans were usually very stereotyped:There were 'good niggers' and rascals. But one further distinction was emphasized: That between real and apparent,or between permanent and transient character traits. Thus,to Löwenadler the 'good nigger' was a kind of uncle Tom coming from a cottage,but he was also deceitful or inconstant. Löwenadler described this prototype of the good negro in the following words.

> "...He is the type ready to carry all the burdens alone by seeking assistance from some one else;he is prepared to tackle all the problems but comes out the list from solving his problems,but as the days for recorning draws close he comes out to share the benefit.[17]

The apparent mildness of demeanour which marked a black male in his dealings with Europeans had to be contrasted to traits which appeared in his dealings with other black people,notably in his family life. Löwenadler asserted that.

> "...the women in the villages are treated like animals.Before a woman gets old she is almost beaten to death,for the elderly women no one cares about them. As a man buys himself a wife he pays a small sum of money,and as the dowery is paid the woman becomes a property and thereafter she can be maltreated in any ways." 18)

According to Löwenadler the above point proved that the Africans were living in a distant culture.

It happened that elderly Africans were nicknamed 'noble savage's' in accordance with the old myth. This myth had been revived (according to Fairchild that) the application of it extended to other racial groupings[19](such as the North American Indians,Afro-Americans often such words as naked peasant was added).On the contrary the Europeans who had early trade contact with the Africans were blamed it however, implies that such contact would destroy the native's natural way of life.[20]

5.4.1 DISCUSSIONS ON THE AFRICAN'S PRIMITIVE SITUATION (AND A POLICY FOR REMEDING THE SITUATION.)

The purpose of the above topic is to view the discussions conducted in the literary literature in defence of their ideas on why the Africans ought to be civilized by the Europeans.

The main argument was that the Europeans,having attained themselves such a high level of civilization,should now actively assist in the process of civilizing the Africans.Throughout the discussions it was emphasized that it was in fact the duty of the Europeans to civilize the Africans out of their primitive conditions.[21] In the period examined in this thesis the notion of the primitive stage of development occupied by the Africans was central,and it revolved around series of topics. One viewpoint was that it was the nomadic life which shaped the African attitude to work while other views held that the tropical climate was the main reason why the African did not need or want to work.[22] Frequently qualities like laziness and drumkenness were mentioned as expressions of a typically African attitude to labour.

Another topic which was dealt with rather extensively in this connection was the intelligence of the Africans and its bearings on the progress of African civilization. There was rather unanimous opinion that when this intelligence was more closely examined it turned out to be shrewdness or cunning rather than capacity for grasping meaning or truth.[23] A combination of stupidity and slyness was not a factor making for progress; Therefore it was a duty for the Europeans to undertake a civilizing mission in Africa. In many instances,

however, the African was regarded as merely stupid or foolish. From this analysis of the treatment of the African population we could see that (the image was shocking for the European reader), but often such images appeared somehow positive when such arguments revolved around the motivating factors which made the Africans work such as normadic life. The literary image of Africa was predominantly negative, but it was improved when matters related to European interests were at stake. Then the Africans were said to be intelligent,[24] and in some cases the laziness could even be attributed to the type of trade that the Europeans offered them, as in rum and gin-beverages.

5.4.1.1 THE EUROPEANS IN AFRICA

Most of the general remarks in the fiction literature about Africa were made by the Europeans who had visited the African continent. In most of the fiction it was the European and particularly the male European who was the main character. The Africans were always represented as willing servants of the Europeans. In most of the literature the African did not represent any important object or was seen as playing a significant role. The main character in the fiction was always energetic and an initiative taker or one who never questioned his right, to treat the Africans as he deemed suitable for the pursuit of his various goals. This conformed with the character of a dominant role which was very representative in the literary literature. The implications of these facts was to make the reader understand that all the initiative in Africa had come from the side of Europeans.[25]

When the Africans were focussed in the literary literature they were represented as simple persons or a group content with their lonly place in society. Stereotypes also existed. The African was portrayed as a simple naked individual sometimes the Europeans were criticised for their part in the maltreatment of the African by cruel and violent means. In the conflict with the Africans violent methods had been necessary in order to achieve certain objectives. Often they could be characterized as punishment or revenge. To a very large extent European dealings with the Africans reflected the view

expressed by Löwenadler.

> "...I am not weak in my dealings with the natives. I know them very well,beat them, skin them,shoot them, this is the only way to civilize them. In the first instance promise them help and later on bind them and then shoot them."26)

Gustav Frenssen, in a book which could be classified as "agitation literature" described the legend of Peter Moor's journey to South West Africa. The story one in which Frenssen illustrated the conflict between the Germans and the Africans.Peter Moor was a boy symbolizing the German soldiers who had travelled to South West Africa for the purpose of defending the colony. The legend of Peter Moor's journey to South West Africa,according to Frenssen,brought victory to the boy over the Africans. In such a popular story violent deeds were extensively glorified. The German victory over the natives of South West Africa was justified in the following terms.

> "...the world belongs only to the most intelligent ones, in other words the healthy ones, and it is through this means that God's justice could be seen".27)

The attitude of each individual European national was to a large extent formed by the fiction in his native tongue. British books had a positive attitude towards their nationals,and so had the Germans,[28] the French and the Swedes.[29] It is easy and instructive to see the predominant influence of German popular fiction such as the one described above in the Swedish readers during this time.

5.4.1.2 THE EVALUATION OF THE AFRICANS

The basic trait in the literary literature was the undervaluing of the Africans, or the so-called negro-inferiority in relation to the Europeans in every aspect.Physically, the African was referred to as more cruel than European. His culture was lower in quality than that of Europeans in both moral and material aspects. The potential of the African was rated as less than that of Europeans.[30]

The emphasis on African inferiority in relation to the European could be found at all levels,both implicit and explicit in the literature

One point that could be made here is that the emphasis of negro inferiority conformed with fashionable ideas on race. It also conformed with the nineteenth century feeling of cultural and racial dominance that was prevalent all over Europe.

5.4.1.2. 1 THE DISCUSSION ON THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The general tenor in the literary literature was that the African cultural background was backward.It was related to the basic factor of race.The attitude to African art was essentially or distinctly negative.African music was termed primitive with regard to melody.[31] In other words,all opinion on African art and music could be characterised as ethnocentric.European music was set as the norm. Most of the fiction literature contain themes such as...

> "... Certainly a good University will be founded amongst them (the Africans). As they sing and dance very excellently, this could lead to a journey to Europe where more could be learned so that the 'brown art troop' and their European experience could then be observed".[32]

5.4.2 THE DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

In the literary literature the African medicine man was referred to as witch-doctor and was looked upon as the representative of a whole profession of swindlers.The techniques of their medicine was also referred to as Hokus-pokus.[33]

In order to describe the reality about African religion,we shall rely on the research of modern scholars in the field so as to juxtapose explicitly these views of the fiction literature with the then existing reality in Africa. The references that are cited here reflects adequately African religion at that time.[34] In the description of the modern research on African religion two types of views are advanced.In the first place one could speak of an African traditional religion, secondly this religion had its own background. There were certain issues where the African religion differed from that of the European.One such issue could be found in the area of matter which was understood to be in existence within nature. The European understanding of the existing nature could be said to be static

whereas the understanding was dynamic to the Africans.The Africans accepted that the existing nature has some vigour or vital forces.[35]

Within the African context the existing object was said to have some form of vigour which in turn was regarded as God. The highest existing object was regarded as the maker of rain. In other words, the Africans could be said to be living in a religious universe of the dead, the living and the newely born which was the central point.

Time represented the evidence that he did not look foward to the future but advanced with time at his own pace.Time comprised the present and the past which was constantly remembered by the living, and for the time, there none was remembered any longer.[36]

Despite the existence of kingdoms in Africa, for example, in the Ashanti and Benin areas, the literary literature held a view of the African political system which asserted that...

> "...Their Kings are despots, and the majority of their communities are controlled by the so-called chiefs"[37]

5.4.2.1 SUMMARY

The literary image of Africa and its inhabitants was quite unambiguous, and it was largely expressed in a series of stereotypes.Much attention was given to the physical exterior and comparisons were made in that respect between Africans and Europeans. The beauty of European women's hair was contrasted that of the African women, the face of the African male was thought to resemble that of apes while his body was judged to be well-built etc. As far as the character traits of the Africans were concerned there was a tendency to equate them with those of children: Africans were generally referred to as 'big children'. Cruelty was a quality so frequently attributed to the natives that it became, in the literary image, a collective distinquishing mark of all Afrcans. With reference to this stereotype, it was easy to justify violence when used by Europeans on Africans.

Emphasis was placed on the primitive stage of development of the

Africans. As the natives were thought to lack the ability to advance by their own efforts a delibrate policy was necessary for remedying the situation. This formed the idea of a civilizing mission of the Europeans.

In the literary image the European was also cast as the main character and portrayed as an individual whereas the Africans were represented as a group or a mass content with their lot in life. In the more agitational literature the activities of the European in Africa, especially as soldier,was glorified with great fervour. The belief in the intellectual and racial superiority of the Europans also shaped the views on African culture and religion. The former was regarded as backward in all respects, the latter as a mere sham manipulated by swindlers. The African political system,finally, was conceived of as primitive despotic rule.

The literary image of Africa did in no instance deviate from the ideas prevailing in Europe at the time; more especially,it did not deviate from the ideas underlying colonial expansion and imperialism.

5.5.3 THE ETHNOGRAPHIC+) IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

This category comprises the literature that was scientifically oriented among the Scandinavian source materials in terms of attempting to obtain and to present systematic knowledge. We have preferred the term ethnographic to that of social-scientific because, on the subject of Africa, ethnography was by far the most concerned (and the most productive) of the social sciences. We use scientific here very loosely due to the fact that our source materials are selected mainly from the works of anthropology and ethnography.

5.5.3.1 RAMIFICATIONS OF THE DEBATES ON THE NATURAL BACKGROUND

In the ethnographic literature Africa's natural background offered a few stereotypes which could be clearly seen in the preceding account here. What formed the predominant topic in the discussions was the vegetation and Africa's climatical conditions. It was generally believed that the continent was fertile.[1] There was a difference of opinion as to whether the Africans did really utilize their soil. Most writers agreed that the African soil was extremely fertile and wet, but were of the opinion that the natives would need a stretched hand for ploughing the soil in order to be able to survive. It was already well known that Africa contained an abundance of the following export articles due to the fertility of the land. The export articles ranged as follows; spices,cerels,vegetable oil, raw-materials such as gum,wax,cotton,sugar,coffee, tobaco,indigo,rubber, ivory,ostrich-feather,copper,gold and diamonds.[2] Some believed that the fertility of the land made it possible for the natives to abstain from work and as a result they turned lazy. The implications of

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+) Danish source-materials have been included in our selection since the disciplines of anthropology, ethnography and geography were not fully developed in Sweden but instead were working in collaboration with the Danish scientific community which was rather more advanced. From 1901 to 1914 6 works on anthropology were published in Danish and 23 geographical works. The selection has been 8 books and two sources from the Swedish group , one of which was unpublished.

this view could be brought in rhetorical question.

> "...which African native or Malayasian,Polynassian etc had become the bearer of a high culture".[3]

Here a kind of tropical myth was used to explain the obstacles to African development. In other words, the highly phlogistonated air was seen as the main factor making tropical civilization impossible.[4]

In the ethnographic literature opinion tended to be unanimous in regarding African soil as fertile. Most attention was directed to the notion that the Africans were industrious...

> "...the natives are generally industrious in both planting and sewing...In South of Congo a large proportion of the natives labour in the plantation with ease working in the fields both male and female,working from sun set to sundown". 5)

One thing which was also observed was the rate of mortality among Europeans in Africa.It seems to have been rather high. The climate was judged to be too extreme and unhealthy with deadly attributes.[6] Janssen Tusch estimated that the mortality rate of Scandinavians in the Congo state was 10 times higher than it would normally be in their home countries.[7] Among the common sicknesses were fever,malaria and sleeping sickness. Malaria was thought to be caused by the moist warmth from the swamps, that is, the abrupt changes in temperature characteristic of the tropics[8](which would mean changes from very hot in the day to considerably colder in the night).But most of the observations also indicated that malaria might be caused by flies contaminated by parasites.[9] This latter theory was confirmed by two Italian scientists, Gassi and Bignam, in 1890.

5.5.3.2 RAMIFICATIONS OF THE DEBATES ON EUROPEANS IN AFRICA:

The purpose of this section is to examine that part of the image which concerned the role of Europeans in Africa,particularly as colonizers. The Europeans in Africa were portrayed in individual terms and furnished with power and financial capacity. They spent their entire time as they desired in rampaging the continent in search for colonies.This notion can be substantiated by some actual figures. It

has been calculated that Savorgnan de Brazza, one of French's most renowned explorers used a sum of 30.000 French Frc. equaling a sum well over (30.000 Swedish kr) in the final years of his African expeditions. By November 1880 Stanley had disposed of 10.400 pounds, the equivalent of (S.W.Kr.144.000:-) which was donated to him by a businessman from Leeds, as well as another sum totallying 30.000 pounds or the equivalent of well over (Sw.kr.300.000).The above mentioned financial contributions were utilized for exploration works in Africa. The international Brussels committee had by October 1st 1879 spent on research and colonial administration well over 1-million Frcs., the equivalent of (1.million Sw.kr.). In the same year an American from Connecticut had by March of the same year donated through the American international committee the sum United States dollar 250.000:- the equivalent of ($2^1/2$- million kr) to Savorgnan de Brazza for his exploration in Africa.[10] At the same time as the Europeans spelled out all the weak sides of the Africans, they built up for themselves all the necessary contacts with African Chiefs and Kings. This set the pace for the future domination of Africa. The experiences of the European explorers in their dealings with the Africans was of tremendous importance to the colonial authorities in that it helped to map out the phase or forms which the colonial administration was to take.

"What was begun by explorers and traders as individual enterprises was to be continued and vastly expanded when the resources of colonizing great powers were employed".

" The British have done a magnificent work in East Africa. 20-30 years ago things were at their worse. The Arabs had turned the inland with slave-trading, and in the coastal regions, off every three children born two were taken into slavery. The Massaj Arabs had plundered all the coastal regions, and a large area of the landmass had been totally deserted of human beings. Now peace had come to every area, peace and order,slave-trade had been eradicated and so was paganism. Christianity and culture are in progress,railroads between coastal-lines have been established. Millions of individuals have been prevented from becoming Muslims. Honesty and good-manners

now prevails.[11] The Belgians in the Congo, the Germans in South West Africa, the French in the Madagascar, all these colonial powers had fully utilized their colonies,having built military bases,roads and railroad with large locomotive stations.[12]

It could be fairly assumed that the European expansion and subsequent annexation of African territories occurred despite the fact that African leaders never of their own free will entered into a treaty with European invaders. This annexation occurred rather through action backed by vastly superior force by the Europeans. Most of the views gave insight into what really occurred.

> "...the Ashantis[+] attacked the British garrison on the coast and the garrison counter-attacked. The king was forced to sign a treaty in which he promised to hold back his people inland and by 1895 a new leadership was appointed by the British for the Ashanti's who worked against the Ashanti's."[13]

The next question to which the ethnographic writers addressed themselves was that of a dominant civilization. This question attracted much attention by ethnographers. Bahnson looked upon the European influence as a dominant type emphasizing that...

> "...year by year, the modern civilization exerts it's influence around the world. Wherever the Europeans had set their foot, no original culture survives." [14]

He described Europeans as superior in every respect. As they set their foot in the Congo and in other parts of Central Africa between 1850's and 1900, it was not primarily a political commitment on their part, but the contact was largely made for trade purposes caused by great power rivalry in Europe and later transferred to Africa.[15]

+) Osie Jutu, King of Asante (1680-1711), was the founder and first King of Asante nation, a great west African forest kingdom in what is now Ghana. He was able to convince a half dozen susperstitious chiefs to join their states under his leadership.

A British colonial minister had emphasised that it was accidental that his country had had an unjust policy towards the Africans.[16] Many of the encroachments that the Europehas committed on the Afrcans continued to be excused by references to the fundamental unequality between(and)the two groups or races. The British confiscated the land of the natives and imposed taxes. The idea underlying the punitive measures of the Europeans was always that it was normal to punish one's child or eventually one's servant. Therefore this emphasis ought to be understood in relationship with the emphasis on the child anology applied to the Africans.[17]

As already emphasised most of the ethnographic literature had seen colonization as a kind of guidance towards civilization of the Africans by the Europeans. While agreeing that the motives of the Europeans were altrustic ,they believed that the construction of railroads and similar material innovations would by themselves bring peace and progress to the African continent.[18]

Despite the altrustic nature of the motives and the notion indispensability attributed to European civilization. The ultimate arguments in the image rested on the idea of race and of progress according to the European model.

Colonialism depended very much on the ability of the colonizer to make good his claim to superiority and on the acquiescence of the colonized in their place as inferiors.It seemed that only mishap and insatability or such things as climatic break-downs had much influence on the colonizer; malaria,dysentery and other hazardous tropical illness took their tool of victims[19]

5.5.4 RAMIFICATIONS OF THE DEBATES ON AFRICAN CHARACTER AND CULTURE

Most of the ethnographic literature described the natives as a mass; this was the basic approach. African character was not treated in depth. There exists a huge amount of empirical material emanating from Scandinavian ethnographers. For example,Schwerins works illustrates the activities of anthropological and geographical societies between 1885-1887. His own research dealt primarily with Central and

South Africa.[20] Another Scandinavian who could be mentioned is Bruun who had worked on the eighteenth century in Africa.[21] Bruun valued West Africa much higher than the rest of Africa.The findings of the ethnographic research were presented by Bahnson in his(Etonografien fremstillet i den hovedtraek vol II) and in the articles on Africa,written by Nielsen and Andersen, in Salmonsen's encyclopaedia. It is clear from this that they used the same type of sources.

The use of ethnographic literature as a source resulted in a method of systematization which also contained stereotyped thinking. The stereotypes obviously possessed a dynamism of their own. The ethnographic literature showed stronger traits of a stereotyped description than the literary sources. Where stereotyped allegation were used in the literary works,it was applied to all Africans or all natives.

The most important case of stereotype was that the Africans were characterized. Systematically in terms of the child anology.[22] This occurred in most of the works where ethnographic materials was used. Most ethnographic sources showed the same frame of reference, and the same display of stereotypes ranging from laziness and stupidity to cruelty.As a result if the qualities of the African was compared with those of others the outcome could always be systematized in terms of the child anology.It could also be used in order to explain why the Africans did not advance from their primitive conditions.

At the same time the use of the child anology had an impact on the prescriptions contained in this image. Just as the Africans behaved as children they ought to be treated as children, that is, with authoritative hands. In its actual use the child anology then served as a justification for that kind of behaviour of the Europeans which was positively judged in this image.

As mentioned above cruelty was the main characteristic which the literary writings had attributed to the Africans, but the ethnographic literature echoed the same slogan although to a lesser degree. Among the concrete examples of the African cruelty that were referred to

were the human sacrifices in the Dahomey.[23] Human offerings was seen clearly in the context of African cruelty which was closely related to religious beliefs.[24] The African was perceived as a materialistic individual; this allegation was extrapolated from his willingness to exchange goods with the European slave-trader.[25] On this point, however, the true nature of the relations between buyers and sellers were ignored or distorted.

On the otherhand, one of the good qualitied that was attributed to the Africans was their hospitality towards their guest or towards strangers but it was also asserted that this very quality was a basis for their cruelty.[26] At the same time it was said to relate to his childish character. That is, just as children the African tended to forget easily what was normal behaviour and he was said to be carried away by emotions rather than guided by common sense. It was a general belief that there existed a unique relationship between human beings and nature in the tropics. This argument implied that most Africans needed the rule of iron hand in order to build up suitable infrastructures. Tropical climatic conditions were generally regarded as the cause of their laziness. Such views could be proclaimed as in the following quotation.

> "...it is absurd that the Africans does not take command over their natural surroundings in which no difficulty is found in the production of food and in which there is no demand for labour".[27]

Laziness was seen in relationship with the social conditions, and it appeared to many observers as the main hinderance to African mobility in development. However, the writers were not unanimous on the problem of African laziness. Some realistic observers emphasised that the Africans were industrious and had a rich culture.

> "...The inhabitants of Northern Nigeria are tall and industrious, more so than the coastal inhabitants. They constitute the largest part of the Muslims in Northern Nigeria. The climate is sound, and the soil well suited for cultivation, but it demands more work in order to provide the inhabitants with the essentials or necessities of life. Hard work could contribute towards the development and culture of the people". [28]

The military characteristics off the Africans brought out in ethnographic literature could be illustrated by the warring tribes of the Zulus, but generally their ability to resist the European invaders was cut down to insignificant proportions. Their personal courage was judged to be great, but their lack of an adequate organization was seen as a central weak point.[29)]

The obvious conclusion was that the Africans certainly could be good soldiers but only under the leadership of Europeans. When compared with European potential the African ability to resist was regarded to be as slight.[30)] Once more the wisdom of European immigration was questioned by the ethnographic writers, as the Europeans repeatedly showed their willingness to interfere and slip into Africa as uninvited guests forcing themselves and their culture upon the ways of life of the Africans.

African culture was one of the aspects that gained attention in the ethnographic literature. However, this was not remarkable as some part of the literature was mainly on ethnographic research. The general judgement on the African culture was not specially favourable; the tendency was to devaluate African culture every individual writer being strongly ethnocentric in his value-judgements. In some way an understanding of the African culture seemed impossible to achieve. All the negative aspects of the culture were portrayed systematically whereas the positive aspects were belitted altogether. The common procedure was to portray every aspect of African culture as rather obsolete or negative. Often the adumbration were fashioned in the following manner.

> "...Often the native people have nothing to show as a self-reliant culture and therefore their intellectual capacity ought to be compared to that of the Indians." [31)]

So the African culture was relegated to the bottom of the ladder by the majority of authors. This sweeping judgment also applied to such native cultures as that in the Sahel region or even the Zimbabwe culture. One exception was Central and West Africa where, according to general opinion, a rather advanced handicraft culture existed mostly.[32)]

Most of the observations on African customs were negative. Thus African music was described as noisy, alarming, strange in the practice of shaking the body and in the act of dancing. The life style was not valued high, but the African's ability to live in one large social system was appreciated. This general observation almost developed into an axiom that Africans, especially those of the Central and West Africa, were admirarly capable of living in very large village communities.[33)]

On Polygamy, it was seen as a scandal which created slavery; Some writers attributed it to an inbuilt laziness of the native Africans or to the short life-span of their women - folk.[34)] The reference was that in African society it was rather common practice that a wife was bought, and from this observation the ethnographic literature came to the convenient conclusion that women in Africa were looked upon as objects, less so as human beings. The arguments were developed in this form.

> "...As a wife is bought in the process of marriage what is required is a cow or some other objects which is equivalent to wealth. For the native the woman is not regarded as a human being but as an object that can be easily traded through monetary exchange".[35)]

The custom of offering a bride prize was regarded as unlucky and negative; it was understood as a form of scorning and deception of a woman. Furthermore, the process of the payment of dowry was considered an indication of esteem for her in contrast to the European pattern of offering presents or gifts as a bride offering. From this point of view the man had an unlimited power over the woman but the comparison between the traditional African method and that of the European was inaccurate.[36)]

The African wife was portrayed in a very gloomy situation. After marriage she toiled and drudged the soil while the male hang around.[37)] Here the notions of laziness amongst the black natives appeared again. The women tilled the soil, the man rared the cattle, built the huts etc.[38)] The relationship between the sexes in Africa was rarely condemned directly, but most of the ethnographic literature was in agreement that the condition of the women was most unfortunate.

The general motives behind such portrayals was apparently to reduce the position of the African culture and it reputation. If a man was a polygamist the wives should be understood only as servile objects which were only expected to work hard as slaves. That such a comprehension of African women could be easily related to the official Victorian women view on women could be well understood and it was the general opinion all over Europe.

5.5.5 RAMIFICATIONS OF THE DEBATES OVER REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

We will begin this section by presenting, in quantitative terms, the regional distribution of African materials in five selected sources. After that we will more closely examine the discussion of regional differences with respect to forms and historical origins

TABLE: 1

DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIALS ON AFRICA IN FIVE CHOSEN SOURCES

	TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES ON AFRICA	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL				
		SOUTH	EAST	CENTRAL	WEST	NORTH
Bahnson	290	28	-	23	28	21
Bruun	901	30	14	6	23	27
Dreyer	200	36	8	7	22	27
Madsen	112	39	6	4	13	38
Rosenberg	73	15	69	-	-	16
	Mean	29.6%	19.4%	8%	17.2%	25.8%

In reading the table on page 97 we can observe the space that each author has devoted to any particular area of Africa. It can be seen that more space was given to South and North Africa than to West and East Africa, whereas Central Africa ranks lowest. The interpretation of this type of priority is clear enough. The authors devoted more interest to those part of Africa that had long contact with Europe. Thus North Africa had had a trans-sahara slave-trade contact with Europe and South Africa had been a settling ground for white - settlers immigrants.
As a result of character and culture the Bantus were said to resemble the real native black African.

> "...He has self-control which the Kaffer's does not possess. The Kaffer shows enormous strength in gallentry and drinking ability." [39]

At the other hand the Bantus were classified as less childish and more fair and diligent than the West Africans.[40] Dreyer asserted that, the Europeans had discovered most of the large centralized states in West Africa, whereas in the East the Arab slave-traders were credited with the discoveries of East Africa's heartland. Bruun described the Western and Eastern parts as more developed materially and culturally. His description of West Africa was more positive than that of East Africa. When each ethnic group was judged or valued in relationship to others the difference became more apparent. As a rule the evaluation was made with reference to military ability contrasting those who yielded to European attacks and those who were well militarily organized and therefore resisted.

The latter category ranked highest in this classification and incl-ded the Ashantis and the Kaffers. Whereas the Zulus were rated as relatively strong.[41]

The West African coastal natives and the inland natives were described as living in two types of societies. The native of the Delta regions and latter the Oil river protoctorate were looked upon as a dilapited race; they were split up in dozens of small tribes which were said to live constantly for their ju ju or fetish.[42] In contrast to the coastal natives the inland inhabitants were regarded as diligent

or industrious and intelligent in their culture. This difference between the coastal natives and the inland natives was well known in European literature. Wealthy states as Ghana, Mali and Timbuctu had been well known in Europe since the middle ages, partly through Arabian sources, and they stood as symbols of adventure and wealth.[43] At the end of slave-trade in the biginning of the eighteenth century the Europeans sought for other goods as a replacement. Throughout the nineenth century they tried to find a substitute from the inlands and found it in palm-oil and kernel.[44] But as they utilized this policy of trade substitutions they came into conflict with the coastal natives who had acted as local intermediaries, a position which they were unwilling to give up. So a natural enemity developed between them and the European traders.[45]

Furthermore, for the sake of their religion the natives of the inner part of West coast of Africa ran into conflict with coastal natives. It was an accepted theory that most parts of the Central states in the Sahel - region had relations with the Arabs or the hameitic race.[46] However, this theory was founded on old data and contained a complicated background.

Other forms of differentation between the African natives were built on racial theory.[47] According to this a native with some mixed-blood was more highly valued on the racial scale. The extremely positive evaluation of the Fulanis was largely based on their race which was regarded as a mixture of Arabs and Black-Africans. They were rated as intelligent and wise and their integrity, ability and talent were commendable.[48]

The third form of dichotomy was drawn among the Black Africans between the groups that accepted and allied themselves with the colonizing Europeans and those that showed opposition towards them. A good example of this was the difference between the kindred people of Burganda and Bunyoro. The Burgandas were judged much more positively, as being polite,clean etc. The Bunyoras were placed in the opposite category being both cowardly and mischievous. The Bunyoros were to a very large extent protestants, they allied themselves with Fredrick Lugard from the British East African Company. The Waganda ethnic

groups were the arch-enemies of the Nabo-state Bunyoro which in turn was in opposition to Lugard.[49]

5.5.5.1 RAMIFICATION OF THE DEBATES ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

This subject was also treated in the ethnographic literature. We have mentioned earlier the important distinctions that were made between such terms as states, king, emperor or such as ethnic groupings or tribes and chiefs.These distinctions were emphasised not quite clearly in the literary works, but in the usage of the word state was quite inconsistent. They acknowledged the largest and most centralized political system in Africa; that is, Buganda with a little over 2 million inhabitants which was identified as a kingdom,[50] and Monopotapa which was well known as an empire[51] often the label"nigger-state" was designated to any African political system; the Republic of Liberia in West Africa was a case in point. The implications of referring to the Republic of Liberia as "nigger-state" was to regard the Africans as still immature and therefore bound to be led by Europeans in their state building.

The usual method for degrading the African political systems was to question their stability special emphasis was laid upon their being dependent solely upon the personal qualities of their leaders and upon the abscence of an institutionalized structure. It was often described in the following words.

> "...One single man with power, energy and cleverness is sufficient to gather the tribe, but the inner relationship which ought to unite the community disappears as soon as he dies. The tribes are soon differentiated in order to make alliances with other tribes. This becomes a game of volatile change. Soon they lay some sand in the memory of their dead leader for the sake of sacrifice.[52]

Unfortunately such processes did not lead to the creation of large states for example, a federated states. As a result the African political culture had from time immemorial produced no states in the European sense of the term. This could be taken as an evidence of a particular African way of live. Finally, the existing tribunals were predominantly self-governing in their forms, for example, these tribunals acted with the full consent of all the members of the community

in political matters, but the single man with power was the chief or king always had the final say. In other words he was said to be despotic according to the ethnographic literature,the problems of the political system in Africa was summed up in the following manner;

> "...where the monarchy is concerned only imagination is crucial in a political decision making process." 53)

No attempt was made to classify the African states as democratic or liberal in the European meaning of these words. In Scandinavia, and particularly within the scientific community, the above ideas about Africa had some pratical consequence, but the question is whether it had any political implications. The practical consequences were related to the ideas that Europeans held about the infallibility of their own political system; therefore the Africans political system could not be placed on the same footing. The political implications could be related to the policy of "indirect rule" or the fiduciary rule practised by the British in Northern Nigeria before it spread as wild-fire into the Southern parts of Nigeria during the colonial administration.[54] Admittedly, it operated through a series of alliances pitting one ethnic group against another.

5.5.5.1.1 RAMIFICATIONS OF THE DEBATES ON RELIGION

In the ethnographic literature African religion was regarded as an organic whole but it was seen from European point of view as the European ideas on religion were taken as a norm. As a result African religious ideas were devalued. The ethnographic writers first and foremost gave religion the interpretation that suited them, and they failed to understand it in the African context. Often African religion was understood by emphasising the materialist tendencies of the Africans and their emotional behaviour was referred to. The natives of South and Central Africa were singled out for their worship of deadly objects the same perspective was applied to the West African religion which was devalued for their belief in fetishes such points of view were expanded in the following manner.

> "...the native people have an unclean kind of thinking as they always have their minds divided between the spirit and the self. The influence of their fetish often overwhelms them."[55]

Most writers in the ethnographic literature held to the opinion that

fetishism ought not be studied because it gave offence as they believed that the spirit had occupied the subject's mental thinking. Strong emphasis was frequently laid on their absolute belief in fetishes. In essence, African religion was ranked very low, and one could observe that the ethnographic views were ethnocentric. The most scientific work in this whole category Bahnsons ethnography, regarded the functions of the priests to be pure "Hokus-pokus". The priests were also considered to be nothing but a band of swindlers.[56)]

None of the African types of religions, the fetish belief or Islam, found favour among the scholars. We shall first expand on their views on the belief in fetishes and then consider their views on Islam. The belief in fetishes was declared to be corrupt both by outward ceremonies and by the fanatic beliefs.[57)] The ethnographic literature concentrated its attention on the outward manifestations of religions such as the cult of the ancestral spirits. The rites of human offerings were often mentioned without reference to the fact that this type of allegience or sacrifice had occured in all known human societies. The leading role which human sacrifice played in the ethnographic literature was out of proportion if compared to the actual occurance of the custom in history. The ethnographic literature therefore could be said to have portrayed a kind of sensational image of African religion or the fetish. The sources largely seemed to describe the discovery of and the campaigns against human offerings. It was pointed out that European occupation had led to elimination of such above acts in West African states as in Dahomey. Some other sources contained a number horrible myths.

The regions that were portrayed as being especially tainted by the custom of human offerings were such West African states as Dahomey, Ashanti and in the Central Africa.[58)] Often offerings were related to religious ceremonies but most ethnographic sources devoted less time to a description of these than to a condemnation of the practice of human offerings. However, they unanimously related the custom to its function in the African society as a manifestation of the belief in life after death, that is a question of metaphysical beliefs.

In the event of death the deceased person was buried along with some of his servants in order to deliver messages to the forefathers. Their forefathers, they indicated, would help mediate with the spirit on their behalf. Human offerings could be described as a lawful rite performed on behalf of the gods who were a kind of fetishes, although the explanation given to human offering was that of a babaric and blood-thirsty custom. In one work it was placed in a larger context.

> "...The citizen of Dahomey have a belief in a higher spirit which is found in the sun and in life after death. Therefore,death is not regarded as something painful and fatal which could be objectionable. Their regard for human offering could be seen as a setback for religion and a trumph for cruelty." 59)

Some writers emphasised that God's influence emanated from Europe.[60] The ethnographic literature valued the Islamic religion rather high for its dogmas which were deemed to be simple and easy to comprehend. It was considered to be suitable for the natives:

> "...Mohammedanism is undoubtably a suitable religion that spreds by mere acquaintance. In Africa it is good and the natives regards this type of religion are committed towards its rules. It is not strange. Its reading out-put is clear, simple and easy to comprehend for the natives brain.Christian- teaching is vague for the natives. They can not understand the meaning on which the missionaries build on their dogmas.
> ...No, that a man ought to have many wives, that is what suits them. In the first place that is what makes the blacks happy." 61)

The Islamic religion was more intelligible to the natives, but Christianity had a more developed theology which was identified with the Europeans. Islam was said to have acheived its success in Africa because it suited the nature of the natives. Christianity required monogamy and sacrifices whereas Islam was throughly compatible with the native's daily life.[62] The success of Islam in Africa was condemned by the ethnographic literature; it was seen as a step foward also for the natives. The real progress that it had acheived was said to be that of having eradicated cannibalism and human offerings as it inspired the inner mind of the natives.[63]

5.5.5.6 SUMMARY

The tropical myth was used in ethnographic literature to explain the obstacles to African development, such as the highly phlogistonated air which was seen as the main factor making tropical civilization impossible. Further attention was drawn to the mortality rate of the Scandinavian's in Africa. The Europeans in Africa were seen as individuals with power and financial capacity, mor especially as explorers and colonial administrators. As the Europeans spelled out all the weak sides of the Africans, they built up for themselves all the necessary contacts with African chiefs and kings. The explorers finding about Africa was of tremendious importance to the colonial administrators insofar as it helped the colonial authorities to map out the phase or forms which their administration was to take.

The ethnographic writers also addressed themselves to the question of a dominant civilization. Colonial rule was seen as a kind of guidance towards civilization of the Africans by the Europeans. Colonialism depended very much on the ability of the colonizer to make good his claim to superiority and on the acquiescence of the colonized in their own place as inferior. The characterization of the Africans were made systematically in terms of the child anology.

An understanding of the African culture seemed impossible to achieve. Polygamy was seen as a scandal which created slavery, and which suited the inbuilt laziness of the Africans.

The ethnographic literature devoted their main interest to those parts of Africa that had long contact with Europe, that is,to North and South Africa. The African political system was often termed a "nigger-state"; the Republic of Liberia was a case in point. The king or chief was regarded as despotic and so the African political system was not measured in terms of its democratic or liberal aspects in the European sense of these two concepts.

On religion the ethnographic literature choose the interpretation that seemed suited and failed to understand it in the African context. "Islâm was viewed in a definitely positive way both with regard to its

civilisatory function.

5.5.6 THE VALUE SOCIALIZING IMAGE+) INTRODUCTION

The term value socializing refers to the instruments and processes of socialization effected not only through dissemination of knowledge but also through inculcation of values and standards of judgment. In this context educational sector of society is obviously of primary interest.[1] Within this group of sources, school books especially in geography and history were the most significant. The basic tone discernible in this kind of literature was that of religious optimism, although ethnocentric views were also noticeable.[2] The conception of Africa and its inhabitants was also here largely displayed in a stereotyped form, often with cliches oversimplifications and antiquated information.

5.5.6.1 THE NATURAL BACKGROUND++)

The African climate was described as hot, dry and unhealthy. As a consequence the value socializing literature argued that it was for this very reason that Europeans could not settle in large numbers in that part of the world. The natural background of Central or East Africa was described as greenish even during the dry season. As the rainy season approached a large portion of land was covered by flooding, thus making it possible for mosquitoes to appear in very large numbers. However, both the climate and the population were seen as equal threats or equal disadvantages to the Europeans.[3] To the hostility of wild beasts was added the hostility of the natives.

+) School books in geography, history and educational books in the period 1901 - 1914 constituted the sources in this category. Over 60 history books and geography books were published including reprints. From these 6 works were selected. The materials on Africa South of Sahara tended to be very meagre and so is this part of the thesis. Materials on Egypt was huge but since this work does not treat North Africa we shall be contented with the source materials at hand.

++)The importance of the African natural background was very explicit in almost all the source materials. However, it would be unrealistic to relate or shift any of these aspects of natural background to any other images which we are studying in the thesis. In other words, the views that are presented in the study are only those relating to what

Often when the unhealthy climate was cited as a hindrance for Europeans to remain in these areas such as the Congo the conclusion to be drawn was that such area possessed no prospect of development, no promising future.[4)]

5.5.7 THE STRATEGY BEHIND THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE AFRICANS

There were some positive descriptions of Africans. In his popular geography book Almquist gave a description of what he called middle Africa.[5)] He portrayed the Abyssinaians as a warring people. They were known as the only people in Africa who succeeded in averting European domination, and they achieved this by a combination of persuasion and a show of arms.

Generally, however the African natives were described as having a powerful physique, as speaking very loudly and as working in a severe warm climate. Hair was short, dense and woolly. Most of the descriptions were placed in the following context.

> "...The native has as a child a strong memory and lives in fantasy. He is lazy, good humored and never labours voluntarily, without compulsion.[6)]

Here, once again, we come into contact with the cliché which we already have come across in the literary and the ethnographic images. In the socializing category of literature it was emphasised that the African natives were immature and therefore could not progress when left on their own. The argument advanced was closely connected with the ideas that the Europeans ought to assist the natives in the task of administration as was the case in the Congo state, and most of the states under colonial domination by the turn of the century.[7)] This was the prescription which emerged from the description and evaluation of African characteristics. Most interpretations made in this image were based on racist thinking.[+++)]

++) Foot note contd: is found in our source materials. A critic might say that we are induldging in an exercise of repeations, but of course this reinforces our quest for objective fact or reality which we seek to obtain.

+++) The native Africans as a race were classified as wild, inferior and childish. Therefore they ought to be ruled by Europeans. The notion of Africans as childish shall be examined in greater details in chapter 6.2.2 where we shall bring together all the ideas behind the child anology.

The views on the concept of race presented in the value literature were confusing.[8] Some of the books operated with five races which were operationally defined with regard to body and colour and classified as black, brown white, and red, each being differentiated in their specific area of the world. But the need for further differentiation was voiced, for example a division of the races into linquistic groupings.

In both Berg's[9] and Hedin's[10] books, race played a very dominant role. In these two sources the individual races were represented with regard to their culture and type of people which theyrepresented and occupation.

At the bottom of the ladder stood the fishing communities whereas the hunting community was classified as the savage. Higher up we find the normads and hunting communities or half savages. At the very top were the agrarian cultures.[11] This category included those ethnic groupings to which belonged the larger part of African population. The evaluation in this reference could be said to be optmistic, but the sources were quite inconsistent. For example, a writer in the socializing literature might argue that the Africans were exclusively farmers and as a result might emphasize that they stood high on the cultural-scale. At the same time he might also characterize them as wild and babaric.[12]

5.5.7.1 AFRICAN RELIGION

African religion was described in detail in the value socializing literature. The tone was derogatory its purpose being to denigrate African religious thinking. African religion was termed a parody and primitive.[13] The role of the European missionaries was said to be that of converting the heathen Africans to a better religion and culture. These two aspects were emphasized as the primary objective of European missionaries.

Christianity was seen as a continous factor in the making of African progress and at the same time as a safeguard for the natives against repression and maltreatment by European traders and administrators. The value socializing literature, especially the geography books contained ethnographic descriptions of the Africans. The culture and

and religion were both related to the notion of the good character of the Europeans.The general tendency was that the more religion was subjected to thorough scrutiny the more objectionable it appeared. For example, Berg's description of African religion could be classified as giving a cliché type of image.

> "... they believe in the evil which reside inside the stones, trees etc. This type of object is called a fetish. These blacks believe in these fetishes, that they could injure them, or that they could benefit them. They believe that the help of the fetish could be obtained by offering sacrifice to it. But should they discover that the fetish does not work towards their own desired end they destroy it, and at the same point and time they will replace it with another" 14)

As the situation of the natives was believed to have improved as a result of European rule colonialism was described as a positive force in Africa.

5.5.7.1.1 SUMMARY

In this image the climate, the fauna and the native population of Africa were considered to be of equal disadvantage to the Europeans. Countries which were not suitable for Europeans to live in were thought to have poor prospects of development. On the other hand, the natives were looked upon as immature and unable to achieve progress by themselves. Consequently there appeared also in the value socializing image the familiar prescription that it was the duty of the Europeans to lead the Africans towards a higher civilization.

Racist thinking was noticeable in this literature as when the native African's were classified as wild,inferior and childish. African religion was regarded as a parody and primitive. The role of European missionaries was said to lay primarily in its civilizing mission among the heathen Africans.

When a comparison is made between the value socializing literature and the affectional literature one could find that the two images are both in agreement on regarding the native Africans as heathen. But in the affectional image all human being were valued as equal, particularly in the case of African Christians conforming to Christian norms while in the value socializing image the native African was improved not only by christian efforts and 'civil' (could also

be 'administrative'). The value socializing image gave attention also to the mundane sphere, to administration and politics. The effect of the value socializing literature on the Swedish people is, of course, difficult to estimate. It should, however, be bourne in mind that the image provided here was for most people the first and for some the only total view of Africa to which they were exposed.

5.5.7.2 THE RELATIONAL IMAGE+)

INTRODUCTION§)

The set of Swedish images of Africa would be incomplete if one further category were not introduced. There was a number of people whose views presumably attracted wide interest and exerted considerable influence. We refer to that group of persons who went to Africa out of curiosity, without any previous depth knowledge about Africa rather than in a professional capacity++). These travellers were not trained in scientific procedures nor were they engaged in missionary or commercial activities. Their interest could be said to be relational in the sense that they wanted to establish contact with the inhabitants of Africa in a personal and spontanous manner and observe, in what they believed a direct and unbiased way, the life and environment of the natives.[1)]

Thus the source materials which are grouped into this category are those written by Swedes who had visited Africa out of their own personal initiative and interest or those written by other Europeans who had undertaken to such expeditions and whose works were translated or noted in Sweden. Impressios of Africa's nature (or of the landscape)

+) According to Boulding relational images of primitive people contain many relationships which disappear in the course of sophisication.
++) Sociometry coined by Jacob L.Moreno, an Austrian psychiatrist. As a refuggee camp administrator in the United States after the first world war in developing techniques for reharsing spontaneity in people in distressed circumstances by allowing them to group themselves according to their own choices See: G.D.Michell (ed.)(1967) A dictionary of Sociology p.205 See also: Selltiz et al (1965) p.268-9.
§) Relational image: 220 travel books were published according to the

Remarks on the African character, observation on language and customs, and reflections on African intellectual ability.

5.5.8 EXPRESSIVE ARGUMENTS ON THE COASTAL STATES SOUTH OF SAHARA

The African landscape (or 'Africa's nature') was described in vivid details in the relational literature. Almost the whole of the African coast stretching several hundreds of miles was very low, and in some parts the tops of the trees appeared like an immense forest growing in the water. The impression of Sierra-Leone was indicated by its red streets, brown houses, its babbling negroes, swamp, its infernal heat, its magnificant mountain inhabited by lions. The mountains were described as brillant like botonical gardens with large varieties of plants.[2)]

No industry was to be found, no iron-works were going. Hardly any people could be seen in the curved or bent openings that represented the streets in the so-called capital of the Republic of Liberia.

The natural conditions of the coastal states were also characterized by reference to excessive number of flies and tropical diseases which were said to be quite common. The presence of other tropical animals such as scorpions, snakes and a variety of domestic animals were also noted.[3)]

Around the Senegalese banks,[4)] the temperature was said to be around 30 degrees centigrade near the Gulf of Guinea, and as a result visibility in this area is often very low and obscore in the month of May[5)] Most relational sources came to see Africa in an extraordinary manner with regard to the devastation potential of insects such as termites[6)] and of sleeping sickness.[7)]

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§) Foot note contd: index inventory in Sweden between 1905 to 1914. 8 travel books were selected from their titles plus some articles in the encyclopaedia of the time

In his book "Under tropisk sol" Tärnlund described the Niger delta as the most deadly area on the West coast of Africa emphasising the abundance of sump-fever or malaria in the area and in the Gulf of Guinea area as well.[8] Other insects such as jiggers were also abundant.[9] If admiration was expressed for African landscape an emphasis of the different kind was placed upon its poisnous reptiles and pest-spreading insects and terrible beasts of pray. Some writers came to view the African climate as quite unsuitable for the pure bred European who, it was felt, could not rear his children under the equatorial sun and at an elevation of more than six thousand feet. It was further asserted that.

> "...until it is proved to the contrary the white man's country will remain a white mans dream." [10]

Despite this type of conception about Africa. The economic potential could hardly pass unnoticed; Its riches of stone, iron,palm oil, elephant teeth and rich gold mines etc, were playing a significant role for the European economy and development.[11] According to Churchill the planters from the Islands in the West Indies were reported to be astonished at the riches of the African soil. Cotton grew everywhere in abundance. Rubber,fibre,hemp,cocoa,coffee,vanilla,oranges, lemons pine apples,were natural or thrived immediately on introduction.

European garden products brought in contact with the surface of Ugandan soil were said to give wild bound of efforescence or fruitation and the produce were said to break the gardener's heart for joy.[12]

5.5.8.1 PRESCRIPTIVE ARGUMENTS ON THE AFRICAN CHARACTER

An illustrative subject here was the function of the headman system. For the European traders headman system became the method used for mediating contacts with the natives. The "headman" or "krumannen" was the name given to Africans by the European traders and explorers in West Africa who purposely recruited the natives on seasonal bases for the purpose of doing the menial jobs on board their ships and act as guides into the coastal lands for contacts to be established between the traders and the local middle-men or the sub-chiefs. The

headmen were given very high wages much higher, in comparative terms than those of the co-ordinary workers. Stenfelt's analysis of the headman's social behavior and personality was quite condescending in tune.

> "... The headmen behave as children, shy and approachable, so long as they posses the half-shaped handkerchiefs given them in reward for their services to the European traders."[13)]

Stenfelt advanced the view that it was not easy to find a trouble-free civilized native and especially, that no Sierra-Leonian could rate himself as a civilized negro.[14)] Furthermore, Nerén described the Zulu population as unintelligent dangerous and dirty in appearance. Other articulated classifications existed; Thus the Zulus and the Bantu natives were called industrious and clean. Their intelligence and well organized farms were attributed to their industrious ability[15)]. On the other hand, the Hottentotts were described as strong, well-built or grown-up and intelligent. They were believed to be a mixture pf Blacks and Malayans first arrived in South Africa during the British colonial rule and were brought in by the British administration which utilized their labour in building most of the rail-roads in the territory. As they settled down in South Africa these immigrants inter-married with the African natives and a large population of them were known as Hottentotts.[16)]
In the province of Dombe in the Congo the natives were portrayed as beastly in their living, as they had men in women's apparel whom they kept among them.[17)] The Jagas were known for their trumatic haste in the practice of cannibalism among their enemies.[18)]

In her book "West African studies" Kingsley described the narratives of Dennis De Carli and Michael Angelo of Galtina who emphasised that the Africans lived in a beastly manner and conversed freely with the devil. However Kingsley herself came to the opposite conclusion:

> "... I grant you that the African taken as a whole is the gentlest kind of human being that is made...I do not however class him with races who carry gentleness to a morbid extent..." [19)]

Accordingly Kingsley concluded that from an administrative point of view one must not with any race rely on their main characteristics alone.

5.5.8.2 EXPRESSIVE ARGUMENTS ON AFRICAN LANGUAGES, AND CUSTOMS

In the relational literature the African languages were described as highly fragmented with regard to the continent.Even close neighbours could not understand each other.In the Niger delta alone over 147 languages were found.These factors were looked upon as serious obstacles to commerce.[20] Among African customs relational literature tended to single out what they considered the most exotic and strange.Thus they assumed to have observed the practice of leaving the sick and old,in the jungle in their tents or huts to be allowed to die.[21] The Kitui and Nulango's of East Africa were noted for their unchangability as to means of travels such as the practice of walking several miles on foot, within towns and villages. This was compared with the practice in Europe fifty years earlier. Furthermore, the Kitui were known for their ability to carry burdens of various weight and size. Normally the weight did not exceed 60 pounds or about 30 kgs. But there were large variations; Thus the Akambas were generally able to carry no more than 50 pounds. As if compensating for their modest ability in this respect they were described as proficient in other skills such as stealing;Generally they were portrayed as being of the most unreliable type of Africans.[22]

The teeth-filing custom among the Akamba's was described as connected with certain religious rights. But it was not only a custom, the ladies seemed to think that it enhanced their beauty. Another customs which was observed was the practice of cicatrization which was thought to enhance the chances of a woman getting married to a man. It was described as being done.

> "...partly with the help of a knife and partly with unsharpened nails. When cicatrization is completed a special herb is used in order to make the signs on the skin to be very visible when the sore gets healed up."[23]

In his work "Die Massai", published in 1905, Merker classified them as hamite in origin with some admixture of black race blood. Merker tried to solve the problem of their origins.Usually, the Massais were thought to be Hamites with an admixture of(the) Black race blood. But according to Merker, they were not Hamites but Semitic that is of a

races with allied languages and including Jews, Arabs and Syrians, all supposed to be decendents of Shem.[24] Basing itself on historical and biblical sources, including the Babylonian inscriptions and epigraphs. Merker's hypothesis appeared to be a true discovery. However, the sources of Merker's information came from the Massai themselves who had earlier contact with missionaries, and therfore Merker's hypothesis lacked evidence.

The accounts of natives of the West coast of Africa,especially of the Sierra-Leonians, were very stereotyped. The attributes given to the natives of the region of the Guinea coast were listed as follows.

> "... they submit themselves as cheap hired labour in the trading ships, and before returning to their respective homes... are paid in return by the captins with guns, clothings, rum,tobacco and they mostly depend on this payment for buying themselves a wife".[25]

Tärnlund emphasised that in Africa a human being's life and especially that of a native had little or no value. "One does not fuss over the death of a native" was the general view-point.[26] This type of attitude made it possible for the relational literature project for example on the Delta natives the image of a ruined race divided among themselves in seperate ethnic groupings through inter-tribal warfare.

The native dances at festivity were regarded as wild. The high sounding of drums and songs added to this wild horror which the natives were said to be the only people who could comprehend.It was called fantastic in sight.[27] It further described how the native in his abominable fantasy displayed varity in the form of noisy dances. It was within this context only that he forgot his misery and sufferings and consoled himself to his existence or struggle for life.

5.5.9 SOME INTERROGATIVE ARGUMENTS ON THE AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL ABILITY

It is instructive to examine more closely what was the tenor of the description of the African's intellectual characteristics. The African was characterized as subject to every outside influence and from that followed child like model of behaviour or character which expressed itself in alternately hating and loving one's fellow creatures. One

could look upon the Africans simply as big children "stora-barn".

at this point the condescending attitude in the relational literature was brought out. The black race was said to be exceedingly egoistic and materialistic. The writers praised the good services of the Europeans whose duty had been to implant a sense of justice and their judicial system on the Africans.
This created an ethnocentric image of the Africans as they were described as resembling children who only lived in the present. They did not have a history. They spent all the parts of their life idling. Only starvation and sensuous drives awakened them and drove them out of their repose or relaxation.The Africans were generally presented and identified as heathen pagans.[28)]

The spiritual energy with which the African was said to be in contact, that is, the fetish, was thought to bring some advantages to him. Towards his kinsman and visitors he also had an open hand and heart. With them he shared all that he possessed in the hope that as events turned out he would be rewarded as well.

Moreover, he was not in the habit of rebellious cruelty against the Europeans which was common in races such as the Malayans and Indians in fighting against their enemies.[29)]

5.5.5.9 SUMMARY

In the relational image of Africa the beauty of the African scenery was very expressively noticed. The abundance of tropical animals and the devastating potential of insects were presented as factors which impeded agricultural growth. The African climate was described as quite unsuitable for the pure bred European.

The abundance of African natural resources was also noted and it contributiory effects on the growth and development of European economy with vital raw materials.

The characterization of the Africans as children was based on the personal experience of the relational writers. However, varied this may have been, it lacked a larger perspective, and left room for impressionism, superficiality and personal whims.On the other hand, the direct

observation made by the relational authors from the human angle into customs and practices could be valuable, were it not for certain pre-conceived ideas about for instance African intellectual ability.

The relational image compares favourably with the literary image which characterized the Africans systematically in terms of the child anology. When the comparison is made of the relational image with the value socializing image over the African natives one could find that the two images were in agreement in regarding the African natives as heathen pagans. In the literary image the Africans were referred to as blood-thirsty and cureltу was used as a collective characteristic of all Africans.

5.5.9.1 THE POLITICAL IMAGE WITH THREE CASE STUDIES +)

Attitudes to foreign affairs cannot be adequately coordinated with party-political alignments. No party or party-affiliated newspaper has a foreign policy profile of its own. There exists a large number of schemes for ordering attitudes and opinions on international politics. We have selected the realist-idealist dichotomy as the most fruitful one for our purposes.

The realist conception merits its name for having appreciated the role which the quest for power in international politics, although it has devoted little attention to the policy goals from which this quest for power springs. 1) Ultimately, the realist conception rests on a few fundamental postulates:

1. Every state seeks to maintain its security and sovereignty.
2. In a system of sovereign states the security and sovereignty of the individual power depends on it power, ultimately its coercive power.
3. Power is relative in the sense that an increase in the power of one state means a decrease in the power, and thus also the security, of the neighbouring states.
4. Every state in the system seeks to increase its power, especially its coercive power. That lies in the national interest of the states. If any state should refrain from doing so it risks to break down.
5. War and power politics are inherent and inevitable in every system of sovereign states.
6. The domestic organization-the political system- and ideological and moral preferences are of no essential importance to the foreign policy of a state which always and unalterably must be concerned with security and power. Such factors are only important as psychological and instigating elements in the maximization of power. Ideology, morality and the interests and needs of ruling elites do not change the essence or direction of foreign policy but only its situational pattern. 2)

+)We will utilize a case-study approach to illustrate the treatment of

The idealist conception views international politics in a radically different perspective. It stresses that foreign policy goals frequently transcending national interests as traditionally interpreted and affinities transcending national boundaries not only exist but can be promoted by suitable policies.[3] Also the idealist conception can be compressed into a few basic postulates:

1. The international system and thus conflict and war was due to the policies pursued by the various states and to the domestic order which brought the respective systems to power. It would therefore be both theoretically and pratically possible to avoid conflicts by changes in the international system. Domestic politics had priority over foreign policy.
2. War and foreign policy expansion was not an innate and amoral struggle for power without ideological overtones. Usually foreign policy could be seen as the logical expression of ideological and moral conceptions. From this follows that every individual foreign policy should be judged on the basis of the political and other interests enhanced or obstructed by it.
3. Political and moral resources had a considerable influence on the assessment of the collected power potential of every state. It was the cumulative effect which ultimately decided conflicts and determined the broad lines of political developments.
4. In contrast to the realists the evaluative element in idealism

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African affairs in the Swediah daily press of the period.We have chosen the following cases:

1. The war in German South West Africa between the Germans and the Namas and Hereros between 1904 and 1907.
2. The Maji-Maji-uprising in German East Africa 1905 - 1907
3. The torture affairs in the Congo state in 1905

The cases were chosen according to their bearing on the relations between African natives and the European colonial powers and according to the insight they provide into the sources and relayers of information on which the Swedish press based their coverage and comments. The studies will be both descriptive and interpretative. The selection of newspapers was guided by considerations of party affiliation,place of publication(bigcity-provincial newspapers),geographical distribution and circulation.Relevant variables appear in Table II. As a result the following newspapers were selected:

Aftonbladet = AF.B Arbetarbladet = AB Arbetet = AT
Dagens-Nyheter = DN Göteborg Handels och sjofarts tidning = GT

was explicit. The basic idea was that it was not enough to find out how reality was constituted; if it was felt to be unsatisfactory one should contribute as far as possible to its change for the better or at least to making the political lines of action coincide with those fundamental political and moral values that one considered necessary to defend".[4)]

One of the issues over which these conceptions divided,that of imperialism and colonial expansion, is of particular interest to this inquiry. The imperialistic fever which started with the scramble for Africa in the 1880's and ended with the attempt at dividing China in the first decade of the twentieth century was one of the factors which contributed to the first world war.[5)]
In the realist conception expansion was a basic feature of the world politics.The Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén, the founder of geopolitics, expressed it in the following way:

> "Viable states within a restricted space submitted to the categorical imperative of extending their own space through colonization, federation or conquest of different kinds...The large and monotonous space is itself an incentive to political expansion". [6)]

According to the same author Britain pursued two main lines of expansion:"one exterior, geopolitical, in terms of square miles and one interior, in terms of pounds sterling". With regard to Africa, he added, " there matured in the Caesarian soul of Cecil Rhodes a giant idea, crystallizing itself in the formula 'From Cape to Cairo': a transafrican empire bound together by an inter-oceanic railroad along the meridian." The other Great Powers acted under the same necessity. For Germany, arriving late on the scene, it "began to look as if it would once more have to go through blood and iron(it) it wants to

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Nya Wermlands tidingen = NWT Ny Tid = NYT
Norrköping tidningar = NT Stockholm tidningar = ST
Svenska Dagbladet = SDB Syd Svenska snäll posten = S.SSP
Öster Götlands folkblade = ÖGF
Sampled from: S.Tollin (1967) Svenska Dagspress 1900 - 1967

raise itself to a Greater Germany on the planetary stage".[7]
But the policies of colonial expansion were also sharply criticized both on moral and economic grounds. Criticism of the latter type took the form of articulated theories of imperialism. The first such theory to attract wide attention was of J.A.Hobson, an English economist. According to him the causes of imperialism could be found in the European overproduction of industrial goods which were dischargeable in the possessed territories or colonies.[8] Bourgeois radicals and Social Democrats in Europe also conducted a running political struggle against the expansionist policies of their governments, echoes of which struggle were also heard in Sweden.[9]

TABLE: 11

A QUANTITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE COVERAGE OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN TWELVE SWEDISH NEWSPAPERS JUNE 1905 - JULY 1906

Newspaper	Publ.	Pol. Aff.	Circ.	Period	Total space devoted to Africa in column cm	Distribution of African material in % of TOTAL			
						German S. W. - Africa	German East - Africa	Congo	Other
1+)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Aftonbladet (AF. B)	Sthlm.	Moderate - Conservative	22.000	June 1905 - July 1906	123.5	-	-	35	65
Arbetarbladet (AB)	Gävle	Social - Democrat	8.000	Ditto	94	3	-	76	20
Arbetet (AT)	Malmö	Ditto	19.900	Ditto	83.5	49	-	-	51
Dagen Nyheter (DN)	Sthlm.	Liberal	22.000	Aug - Sept 1905 - March - April 1906	39.5	87	-	-	13

Colum 1 = The names of the 12 examined daily newspapers. 2 = The place of publication. 3 = Political affiliation. 4 = Total Circulation in (000's)

A QUANTITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE COVERAGE OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN TWELVE SWEDISH NEWSPAPERS JUNE 1905 - JULY 1906

Newspaper	Publ.	Pol. Aff.	Circ.	Period	Total space devoted to Africa in column cm	Distribution of African material in % of TOTAL			
						German S. W. Africa	German East-Africa	Congo	Other
1+)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Göteborg handels och sjofart-tidning (GT)	Gothenburg	Liberal	25.000	Aug.-Sept-1905 March-April 1906	256.2	11	-	45	44
Nya Wermlands Tidningen (NWT)	Karlstad	Moderate Conservative	5.800	1905 July - May 1906	52	7	11	-	82
Ny Tid (NYT)	Gothenburg	Social-Democrat	8.500	Ditto	12.5	52	-	-	48
Norrköping	Norrköp-	Conservat-	7.000	1905-1906	38	19	7	-	74

5 = The period examined 6 = The space devoted to Africa 7 = % of materials on the Nama-Herero war in German South West Africa. 8 = % of materials on the Maji-Maji uprising in German East Africa 9 = % of materials on the Congo torture affairs in the Congo state.

TABLE : 11 Contd.

Newspaper	Publ.	Pol.Aff.	Circ.	Period	Total space devoted to Africa in column cm	Distribution of African material in % of TOTAL			
						German S.W.Africa	German East-Africa	Congo	Other
1+)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Stockholm tidningen (ST)	Sthlm.++)	Liberal	111.000	1905 - 1906 July-June	44	29	6	9	56
Svenska Dag-bladet (SDB)	Sthlm.	Moderate Liberal	32.000	Ditto	151	22	-	-	78
Syd Svenska snäll posten (S.SSP)	Malmö	National Liberal	8.600	Ditto	184.5	-	-	-	100
Öster Götlands Folk bladet (ÖGF)	Norrköping	Social	5.000	Ditto	72.5	51	-	44	5

10 = Other political materials for example, border conflicts between the colonial powers, scientific research expeditions, trade-missions and minor up-risings.
++) STHLM = S T O C K H O L M

5.5.6 A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE NAMA-HERERO WAR IN GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

As the Germans arrived in South West Africa in 1885 they found the pastoral Nama or Hottentots in the South, the equally pastoral Hereros in the Central part and in the North the agricultural Ovamboes whom the Germans, by the way, never succeeded in controlling.[10] At this time the Hereros numbered between 60.000 and 80.000 people and the Namas approached a conservative estimate,20.000.[11] Apart from these two ethnic groupings the area contained between seven and eight smaller ethnic groups.

In 1894 Theodor Leutwein arrived in the colony. It was he who coined the German policy of gradual obliteration of the political organization of the natives and its substitution by a European one. This was to achieved by peaceful means if possible. At the same time, other means were taken step by step to confiscate native lands and reserve them on behalf of the white settlers.[12] The cattle plague of 1897 devasted most of the cattle of the natives. They felt their existence threatened, and in the following year the Germans had to clamp down on a series of small uprising all over the colony.[13] In January 1904 the Hereros revolted and in October of the same year the Namas followed suit.[14]

In the early stage of the uprising the Hereros met with success as the Germans troops were occupied with other encounters in the southern part of the colony before they could get back to the central part of the colony the Hereros had gained control and had killed over one hundred soldiers.[15]

When the war came to a close, the Germans spent more than 600 million marks and had lost well over 2.000 men.[16] It thus became one of the most costly European wars in Africa. Because of the conspicuous success of the Hereros the German Emperor and his government decided that the war was to be led directly by a special military commander whereby the regular authorities, including Governor Leutwein, were left without any influence on the course of events.[17]

The military commander in chief von Trotha directed a war of annihilation according to European principles. The Hereros were defeated in a

major battle at Waterberg on the 11th of August 1904. After the Africans were defeated, they were chased from waterhole to water hole into the Kalahari desert. The purpose was to achieve the patial - extermination of the Herero nation.[18)]

von Trotha tried to achieve this aim, with the infamous "Vernichtungs befehl", (The command to exterminate) of the 2nd October 1904. This command proclaimed that all the Hereros, including women and children, found on German territory, whether armed or not, would be shot.[19)]

However, the proclamation and the military dictatorship of von Trotha began to raise a debate in Germany. Missionary circles, the department for the colonies and the Socialists were all attacking von Trotha and in November 1905 he was recalled to Germany and a new governor was appointed.[20)] At this crucial period more than three-quarters of the Hereros and 35-50% of the Nama's had already been exterminated, but the extermination policy continued and was not called off until 1907.[21)] On the whole the Nama-Herero war was a topic that generated a comparatively big political discussion in Germany and this discussion led to a re-orientation and a re-apprisal of German colonial policy in the direction of changing the situation for the better.[22)]

5.6.1 THE NAMA-HERERO WAR IN 12 SWEDISH DAILIES

The Swedish dailies were reporting regularly on the Herero-Nama war during the examined period, especially through the autumn months of 1905. Obviousely, the coverage was not due to any special interest on the part of the Swedish press but was rather a reflection of the eager German discussion of the question.

Thus, the main sources for the Swedish press were German newspapers or official German statements. The newspapers' conception of the war was clearly influenced by their political standpoints or affiliations. Thus the more right-wing oriented the newspapers were the more flatly they supported the German conduct of the war, and the more to the left they tended to be the more sharply they condemned that conduct.

The newspapers with the most extensive coverage of the subject, that is with news contents above 50% of their total attention to Africa were the "DN", a Liberal newspaper with 87%, the "NYT" and the "ÖGF" with 52% and 51% respectively, both affiliated to the Social Democratic party. However, most of the newspaper coverage of the war consisted of rather brief reports of encounters and some other aspects of the war. Most often it was verbertim reprints of telegrams from the news agency Ritzau's Bureau. This news agency was based in Copenhagen and it had German connections and specialized in disseminating news from Germany. The Liberal "DN", did not publish any detailed accounts about the causes of the war but rather it published reports about German parliament's decisions to despatch another 4.000 men to bring the strength of the German troops from 15.000 up to 90.-000 men.[1)]

Much emphasis was placed on the replacement of Governor Leutwein by von Lundequiste formerly Consul of Germany in South Africa.[2)] Moreover the DN, published reports by German soldiers who wrote to their relations im Germany emphasising the monetary incentives that were offered them for the number of natives they were able to exterminate, including both women and children who refuses to leave the area occupied by German settlers.[3)]

The other Liberal newspaper which commented on the wars in South West Africa was the ST, which gave the South West Africa conflict 29% of its total attention to Africa. During the whole period examined the Hereros were portrayed as savage.

> "... official report from South West Africa have indicated that the ... chief Morenga has attacked the frontier at Guboonis and five German soldiers were reported killed and four wounded.[4)]

Shortly after the end of the prolonged war it proved that there was an Africa problem for Germany:

> "... England with her experience in her various African colonies could be of assistance to the Germans and England as well has much to learn from German experience and methods.[5)]

The general trait in its coverage of the war was the emphasis on the strength of Africans. A reader gets the impression that the Germans

were facing a much stronger enemy than what was actually the case. For instance, the newspaper claimed that well over 1.700 German soldiers and over 12 million pounds sterling had sunk into the Herero rising.[6] The SDB further asserted that two factors constituted the German weakness. The first it identified as a lack of colonial experience and secondly that the notion that colonies were meant to be a base for trading organization without considering the rights of the natives to be of any importance.[7] In regarding the situation for the Germans in South West Africa as unfortunate, one could not still deny that the proclamation of general von Trotha had sometragic implications for the German colonial policy.

The NWT had almost the same political affiliation as the DN. It published fewer reports: Only 7% of its total African materials was devoted to German South West Africa. Its main source was " the London Times" from which it printed several fair-sized survey articles presenting the war in a fairly large context. However, these articles contained no attempt to explain or critically analyse the war.

The representation was very ethnocentric, the natives were dismissed as looting hordes, and their success was explained with the alligation that they were being assisted by British soldiers because at that time a border conflict was going on between the Germans and the British on the common border between South West Africa and South Africa.[8] As a matter of fact the NWT considered it impossible that the Africans single-handedly were able to match the Germans much less to defeat them.

One could find documented accusations of cruelty against the German colonial administration in both the GT and the NWT and their comments on von Trotha's proclamation was mildly reproachful. The decree of the German General does not give any solution to the border conflict between the Germans and the British as to how the problems could be solved with regards to border violations.[9]

The Social Democratic newspapers were the really sarcastic and uncompromising critic of the German conduct in Africa. The three Social Democratic newspapers the NYT the ÖGF and the AT drew heavily on the

German Social Democratic newspaper the "Vorwärt"
The NYT, first reported about the Herero-rising and thereafter described the German actions as mere butchery.[10] The ÖGF published collections of letters by German soldiers to their relations at home and these collections provided thorough information about the inhuman treatment of the natives.

> "...any Herero that falls living in my hand I will not decorate with bullets, but what I will use is the bayonet which I will let him to test until... he breaths his last breath".[11]

The AT defined the actions of the German troops and General Trotha as merely refined cruelty;numerous articles and extracts of letters from German soldiers writing home to their relatives in Germany were extensively referred to. A group of German parliamentarians, Bülow and others, accused Trotha of having applied tactics or extermination which they considered cruel and inhuman.

By August 1905 the German settlers in South West Africa started to show some fear that they would soon run the risk of loosing the Herero labour on their farms. Therefore, as pressure mounted an appeal was made to Trotha to grant the Herero pardon and allow them return.[12] In the opinion of the "Vorwärts", the German Social Democratic newspaper, it was hoped that the days of general Trotha in South West Africa were numbered.

None of the Social Democratic newspapers referred to the Germans as an enemy, but their militarists and the German civilian authorities were blamed for the outrageous acts of exploitation which the merchants had adopted. In general terms, the brutality used against the Hereros by the German soldiers was strongly condemned.

Another event commented by the SDB was von Trotha's "Vernichtungs befehl".[13] The first truly critical newspaper that one comes across as one moves towards the left from the centre,however was the SDB.

5.6.6.1 SUMMARY

The foregoing analysis of the Swedish coverage of the Nama-Herero uprising shows two things.The first is the heavy reliance on foreign sources. All the information presented in the dailies was second-hand. Not unnaturally, most of the sources were German: Official statements and parliamentary debates, newspapers and the new emanating from Ritzau's Bureau. Some material was also taken from the London "Times". The relatively few comments in the Swedish press were also based on this material, which meant that there was no attempt to analyse the war, its origins and larger context from an independent position.

The second observation refers to the alignment of the newspapers. Here one finds considerable differences when moving from the right to the left. The right-wing press supported official German policy flatly. Newspapers of Liberal affiliation tended to describe the natives as conducting a savage fight, but also gave prominence to the monerary incentives used to conduct the extermination policy. Only the SDB tried to apply a large perspective and to underline the problem which the conflict had created for German colonial policy. The Social Democratic papers were the most outspoken critics of the German conduct. Basing themselves on the stand taken by their German party colleagues they described the German conduct of the war as cruelty and put the blame on German authorities.

5.6.1.1 A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE MAJI-MAJI UPRISING IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1905 - 1907

In 1884, the German explorer and colonizer Carl Peters began to make protectorate arrangements with the African chiefs on the mainland across from Zanzibar. Gradually the German dominion was expanded to encompass all of the present Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi. The last African resistance was not broken however until 1898.[1] The German administration lacked money and men. They therefore attempted to make the colony self-financing by imposing taxes on the Africans and by levying them to forced labour in cotton fields. In essence, the Germans sought to finance their colonial adventure by enforcing the production of cotton which provoked the Maji-Maji rebellion.[2]

The pressure on the Africans thus became harder and harder, and by the middle of July 1905 the Wamatumbis, living to the North-West of Kilwa, rebelled against their detested Arabian Akidi chiefs, that is the government-appointed chiefs. The first encounter took place on the 31st of July, and 14 days later all the Rufidge valley inhabitants were revolting.[3] By September the unrest had spread to all of South Tanzania.

In essence, the uprising was a religious movement. The profet Kinjikitile and after him other profets had thought themselves possessed by the spirit "Hongo" which was supposed to make the recipients invulnerable to rifle bullets.[4] The movement was attaching itself to the traditional worshipping of the snake-god, "Kolelo", which was wide-spread in the area and to the religious messianic movements for the eradication of sorcery.[5] As the uprising later spread to areas with a stronger tribal organization such as the Ngonies, the role of religion was weakened, and the war was organized through the traditional tribal channels.[6]

In August 1905 the Africans suffered their first defeat. In 1906 the war was almost over. As the Germans never encountered any real opposition in fighting down the Africans their losses were estimated to be at a minimum. On the other hand, approximately 75.000 Africans

perished of hunger.

5.6.2 THE MAJI-MAJI UPRISING IN 12 SWEDISH DAILIES

Of the twelve newspapers that were investigated only three carried some news on the Maji-Maji uprising in the German East Africa.

The three were, first, the NWT a moderate conservative newspaper which devoted 11% of its total African attention to this uprising. Secondly, the NT a conservative newspaper, with 7% and thirdly the ST - Liberal with 6%. Therefore, it could be concluded that the Swedish dailies did not deal very extensively with the Maji-Maji uprising.[7)]

First and foremost, it was short paragraphs and telegrams that were published. The reasons for such a cursory coverage could be attributed to the ethnocentric perspective on the Africans of the newspapers but primarily to the general dependence on foreign sources for materials.

In this period the number of Germans and Europeans involved with the German East African colony was very limited, and for this particular reason very small attention was devoted to the events which only involved a small number of Europeans.

Perhaps the low number of casualities among the Europeans during the Maji-Maji uprising made the revolt appear to be of no significant value in the media at that time.[8)] The interest that the three newspapers took in the subject in spite of this was primarily the kind of attention paid to an exotic piece of news.

During the first month of the uprising no news of it was printed. The sources of the newspapers were almost exclusively of an official or semi-official nature. It was telegrams from the authorities in East Africa or from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as statements and reports published in the semi-official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" which were extensively cited. The official character of the source material meant clearly that the reports on the uprising were consistently reassuring for the European public. After some time, however, the Swedish dailies began to see through the

reports and commented that the situation was much more serious than was officially admitted.[9)]

In almost all the examined newspapers the news was published in the form of short, factual reports and paragraphs. The events were not given any significant importance, and therefore no editorial comments were devoted to the uprising. Thus one does not recognize the same political diversity among the newspapers as was the case in the Nama-Herero war.

The first reports on the uprising were published on the 25th of August 1905,[10)] October, 12th 1905[11)] and on the 29th of August respectively. What followed were some reports on encounters in which the exact names of locations and individual characters were mentioned but not explained or placed in any kind of political significant context. Thus the possibility for a reader to comprehend what was actually going on must have been rather limited.

In the beginning the discussions revolved around the issue of "riots" and disturbances, but from the fifth week, that is from the 12th of October, the appellation were changed to uprising and insurrection, and references were made to German victories over the enemy. However, this shift in the interpretation was due to a change in the German sources rather than to any independent reinterpretation of the conflict by the Swedish newspapers. The attitude towards the Maji-Maji uprising was throughly ethnocentric.

The dominant topics were those of "insurrection" and "assults" indicating where the Germans were murdered by "armed gangs" whom in the end they were chastising. Thus, the question was not who was right or wrong. The only newspaper which tried to shed some light on the background of the uprising was the Liberal ST.[13)]

5.6.2.2 SUMMARY

Small interest was devoted to the Maji-Maji uprising. The news about it was officially controlled by German authorities in East Africa and by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Therefore it was natural that the news on this political issue was only reported by right leaning newspapers the NWT moderate conservative, NT and the Liberal ST. The total absence of Social Democratic comment in our sample was a good indicator that no debate on the Maji-Maji uprising was initiated in Germany.

5.6.2.1 A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE TORTURE AFFAIRS IN THE CONGO FREE STATE

The Congo free state came into being at the Berlin conference which lasted from November, 1884 to January,1885 and at which fourteen powers were represented; including Sweden and Norway and Denmark.To these was added, at the final session, the newely recognized International Association of the Congo.[14] The Belgian King Leopold II succeeded in making the participating countries recognize that Congo, this enormous Central African territory, was the exclusive property of his company "Association International du Congo.[15]

The costs of the conquest and administration of this far-flung land ran into high figures.Leopold therefore soon attempted to make the colony self financing or, even better,profit-yielding. Concessionary companies in which the king himself was a prominent stockholder were granted monopolies on trade in extensive areas. A big area,"La domaine de la couronne", became his private property.[16] The collection of rubber became the most important element in the financing of the Congo state.

It was decided that the Africans had to pay taxes, but as the colony had no monetary system the Africans had to pay in the form of labour, which meant the gathering of wild rubber in the woods. Before 1903 there were no laws that laid down how much was to be paid in taxes, but in practice the agents of the state and the companies were encouraged to collect as much rubber as possible in taxes.

The testimony of Rev.J.B.Murphy of the American Baptist missionary union reveiled the reasons for the revolt which had broken out in June 1889 throughout the Aruwimi district as a result of the tyranny of the state officers with regard to the rubber traffic.[17] The whole system led in turn to atrocious abuse and a horrible brutality. Thus the taking of hostages and manslaughter became the general rule at that period. Consequently the population in the affected areas were substantially decimated.

The rubber question,said Murphy,

> "... is accountable for most of the horrors perpetrated in the Congo..., It has reduced the people to a state of utter despair. Each town in the district of Aruwimi is forced to bring a certain quantity to the headquarters of the commissary every Sunday. It is collected by force, as the soldiers drive people into the bush. Should they not heed to the order given them they are shot down and their left hands are cut off and taken as trophies to the commissary.." [18]

In Britain criticism of Leopold's administration rose steadily in the 1890's and reached a climax in a meeting in May 1897 convened by the Aborigines Protection Society.Public opinion was now aroused. The British government ordered its Consul in Congp, Roger Casement to investigate the conditions in the colony. The investigation resulted in a report which told about the cruelties in a way that could not be contested. The report made a sensation. It sparked off the forming of the "Congo Reform Association" in England, an affiliation of the Aborigines Protection Society.[19] These two movements forced Leopold to change his attitude and at the same time to appoint an international commission to investigate the conditions. This commission published a report in November of 1905 the conclusions of which did not differ substantially from the one published by Casement. In the meantime the pressure on Leopold was intensified.

In Britain humanitarian organizations accused Congo state of not fulfilling it obligation to allow free trade. In the United States and in Belgium many critical voices were raised. In December 1906 the Belgian parliament decided that Belgium was entitled to assume control of the state of Congo. Leopold consented to the delegation of the Congo state to Belgium which took place two years later.[20]

The Congo state torture affairs could be summed up in the following way according to Murphy.

> "... the state is strong enough today to do these things because the people lack's unity. They have no leaders,no common sense, and no weapons to fight with. The officers of the state are young and in experienced, they do not come out as colonialists to develop the country but in order that they may receive quick promotion, the Congo decoration, and above all, to get money.[21]

5.6.3 THE CONGO FREE STATE TORTURE AFFAIRS IN THE SWEDISH DAILIES

The examined newspapers covered the accusations of cruelty rather throughly. Often this was primarily in the form of editorials and thus the news from the news agencies was less predominant in the newspaper coverage of this political issue.

The dailies that took the greatest interest in the cases were the AB, the GT, the AF.B and the ST. In the case of the ÖGF, the interest was due to its Social Democratic colour. The issue could be used to provide suitable arguments against capitalism and colonialism. However, all were in agreement to condemn the atricities. The degree of condemnation was rather dependent on the political colour or affiliation of the newspapers. Thus, the further to the right of the political spectrum the milder was the condemnation and the greater the tendency to lay the blame on some extraordinary factors or individuals. The further to the left the greater the tendency to conemn the torture affairs as an expression of imperialism.

Besides the news agency telegrams the sources of the GT were primarily the Liberal British newspaper the "Daily Chronicle" and the French "Le Temps". A lot of views over the Congo question was also published in the "AB".However, most of these views were representations of the ones already expressed by others. The standard procedure was to represent some of the accusations of cruelty against the colonial administration. Often a similar representation of the repudiation of these very accusations were made. Time and again the dailies offered a mild criticism of the colonial system.[1] It was well known that

complaints of maltreatment of natives were heard also from other parts of Congo.[2)]

The ST, did not devote much attention to the Congo question. It was almost exclusively copy from the news agencies which it published. Otherwise the attitude of the daily resembled that of the GT since both newspapers were Liberal. The mention of the scandals in Congo did not form a main theme in the ST but it emphasized the unjustified activities of the trade companies and those of the state administration in general.[3)]

The AF.B, a moderate conservative daily, took much interest in the case than the two Liberal newspapers, the ST and the GT. Its publication of an interpellation in the Belgium chamber of deputies was quite significant. It enumerated three principal points on which the Congo state administration had gone beyond their legal bounds. The administrative principal had been based firstly on land confiscation and forced labour,: Secondly on the force delivery system which made the natives resist and thirdly on the activities of native middle men popularly identified as "A capita".[4)] On the whole the general administrative policy had been that of a "Herrenvolk"on top and the rest under and, if necessary,weeded out.

In this context the merits of King Leopold II were never mentioned neither, as could be seen, the system of exploitation which did not differ very much from the Arabian slave hunting.
The most unconditionally critical newspaper however, was the AB, a Social Democratic daily, which at the sametime was the paper that devoted the most extensive space to the Congo affair. The AB presented its readers with a thorough orientation based on News Agency telegrams and foreign newspapers, primarily the French socialist paper "L'Humanité". The AB was the only examined newspaper that explicitly accused King Leopold for having made a profit of over 80 million kronors from harshness and black slavery.[5)]

It did not at all doubt the accuracy of the accusations against the administration but saw them as symptons of the ruthlessness of the colonial system as such.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the AB's strong interest in the Congo torture affairs was that they were perfect elements in the agitation of the paper. As already mentioned, the atrocities were seen as proof of the ruthlessness of capitalism, and at the same time they allowed the paper to point out or signify the Social Democratic party as the only political party that did contribute towards the assistance of colonial inhabitants and moreover, of oppressed people the world over.

The AB levelled a detailed and ideologically inspired criticism against the methods by which the enormous sums of income from the Congo state were disposed of. "The Domaine de la couronne" had bought large land areas and properties all over Belgium which ranged from hotels, villas, bungalow-houses to agricultural lands and large gardens.[6] Thus "the AB" was putting the affairs in an ideological context while simultaneously making the most of them in a form of political agitation.

Obviously, the lines taken by the Swedish press from the GT through the ST, the AF.B, and the ÖGF to the AB ran straight from the right to the left. That is, it could be observed that the more left-leaning a newspaper was the more critical it became of colonial system in its totality.

The Congo affairs made enomous rubrics at the time, and it was dealt with and discussed in other sources. Opinion was divided but the general impression was that abuses were taking place in the Congo state, although conditions were not worse than in other colonies. Some even attributed the situation to the climatic conditioning that prevailed in black Africa.[7]

OUR QUANTITATIVE MATERIAL CAN ALSO BE PRESENTED IN THE FOLLOWING WAY:

5.7 A GENERAL RE-APPRAISAL OF THE POLITICAL IMAGE

TABLE: 3 MEAN ATTENTION TO ISSUES ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN TWELVE SWEDISH NEWSPAPERS - JUNE 1905 - JULY 1906

	TOTAL SPACE ON AFRICA IN cm.		S.W. Africa		Maji-Maji		Congo		Other material	
Conservative										
AF.B	123.5	Mean	-	Mean	-	Mean	35	Mean	65	Mean
NWT	52	96.1 cm	7	12%	11	4.5%	-	8.75%	82	74.7%
NT	38		19		7		-		47	
SDB	151		22		-		-		78	
Liberal										
DN	39.5		87		-		-		12	
GT	256.2	Mean	11	Mean	-	Mean	45	Mean	44	Mean
ST	44	131 cm	29	31.75%	6	1.5%	9	13.5%	56	53.3%
S.SSP	184.5		-		-		-		100	
Social Democrats										
AB	94		3				76		20	
AT	83.5	Mean	49	Mean		Mean	-	Mean	51	Mean
NYT	12.5	65.62 cm	52	38.75%		%	-	30%	48	31%
ÖGF	72.5		51				44		5	
MEAN ATTENTION TO ISSUES			27.5%		2%		17.4%		53%	

In table 3 one could find that the Social Democratic group of newspapers is interesting in that its coverage seems to have been fairly politicized. It scores rather high on South West Africa & Congo issues, but rather low on "other material". The Social Democratic group of newspapers were also relying heavily on the foreign Socialist press such as the German "Vorwärts" and the French "L'Humanité".

On the other hand the unevenness of the coverage in the twelve examined newspapers is quite significant. Only one newspaper the ST covered all the issues which have been studied, four newspapers covered three issues and six newspapers covered only two, that is one specific issue and the general category of "other material". This seems to indicate the peripheral nature assigned to issues relating to political conflict in Africa. The issues which the newspapers dealt with most throughly were the issues of significance to the Europeans or those in which Europeans were intensively involved such as the category of "other material" and the South West Africa"

Consequently, the torture affairs in the Congo state and the war in South West Africa were covered far more extensively than the Maji-Maji uprising in German East Africa. This could be attributed largely to the probability that those events could stir up discussion about the conduct of Europeans in Africa. With the exception of the Social Democratic newspapers, almost all newspapers which were either Liberal, national liberal, moderate conservative or conservative used deceptive techniques.+) Here it consisted of attributing to the African issues and to Africans, deceptive rubrics which created a political climate which could create misjudgment in Sweden with regard to the deteriorating situation in Africa.++)

Thus we could here conclude that the conception of Africa and its

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+) The deceptive technique or rubrics here could be compared with what Alexander L; George had designated as projection technique in a propaganda analysis. Although the meaning of projection technique as used by George does not strictly have the same import as the concept used here. The explanation reflects to some degree the same meaning see Alexander L.George (1960) Propaganda analysis p.31. Among the 102 rubrics that have been encountered in the three studies. Only 24, or 20%, had any word of condemnation of colonial cruelties in Africa and these 20% came from newspapers in the idealist camp.

++) Furthermore, according to Lars Furhoff,: At the time of this study

inhabitants were not directly related to the actual political issues of Africa at the time. In other words, the opinion and attitudes of the dailies were not determined by the objective fact or reality in Africa but by current political evants in Sweden and in Europe.

It seems possible to group the twelve newspapers in the study around two poles mentioned by Wolfers. Thus, the dailies that could be located near the "realist pole" include " the conservative,moderate liberal , moderate conservative. Whereas the Social Democratic dailies could be placed near in the "idealist pole". By way of simplification it could be said that the realists being primarily interested in the quest for power supported the European colonial powers in their policies of oppression in Africa and tended to regard violence as the essence of all politics among nations and peoples. The idealists were mainly concerned with the elimination of such ideas and practices. Thus they condemned King Leopold II of Belgium for his private profit-making in the Congo.

In the Maji-Maji uprising the realists propagated extensively the official German version of the conflict, whereas the idealists refrained from such support. Our analysis would seem to support the opinion of Arnold Wolfers that there can be no meeting of the minds or forum for discussions between the realist and idealist views.[8)]

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the political parties in Sweden were particularly anxious to keep competition between the newspapers as important organs of propaganda and so our conclusion about the utilization of African issues as a propaganda item seems well founded: See Furhoff L. (1973) Some reflections on newspaper concentration, The Scandianavian economic history review vol.XXl no.l Copenhagen.

6. SOME CENTRAL CONCEPTS

In our discussions of the various groups of sources we have come across certain central concepts over and over again. Our remaining task will be an attempt to undertake a comparative analysis of the images in terms of these concepts.

RACE

The concept most commonly used in describing the appearance,character and cultural background of the Africans as well as in the explanation of the difference between the Africans and people's of different pigmentation was the concept of race.

Pratically all the examined sources took for granted that mankind could be sub-divided into groups according to such simple,easily observable characteristics as their physical appearance, for example, the colour of the skin. This discussion, however, did not stop at the exterior features but it was assumed that physical appearcnce had some impact on other aspects of life such as character, mental capacity,civilization etc.

In reality, the concept of race is extremely imprecise and very difficult to apply within any frame of reference. Individuals cannot be placed simultaneously in more than one category of race.It is then resonable to attribute the widespread use of the concept of race to its ideological efficency. It was indeed convienient for the colonial masters to base their unchangeable nature, a given difference between themselves and the African natives.[1)]

Before we could proceed with a more detailed description of the use of this concept of race within the period of this thesis, we shall try to shed some light on the modern understanding of this concept, with special reference to Africa.Modern science hardly utilizes the concept of race in the explanation of any phenomenon, but it has been quite common to resort to its techniques of classification. It is obvious that certain elements of the African population differ in certain physical and linquistic aspects. The common practice has been to distinguish between three types of physical appearance: The negroids, the busmandoids and the caucasoids.[2)] These three types apply only to

Africa, but they within that area they are archetypes which hardly exist in their pure form anywhere. Therefore linquistic criteria are adopted for further classification in most cases.

The principal work on this criteria had been J.H.Greenberg's in his book 'Languages of Africa'. Greenberg sub-divides the African languages into four families: Niger-Korodofan (which included the Bantu-language) Nili-Sahara (the Nilotic languages such as the Masai, Luo, and Nandi) the Afro-asiatic (among these Kushitic languages such as Gotta and Somali) and Khoisan (The South African "Klik"-languages). One interesting aspect is that these families of languages are not related to each other;therefore it could be assumed that the same is applicable to the various groups of Africans that speak this language as well; these Africans comprise the Bantus, the Somalians,the Masai, the Luo and the Naudians.

6.1 THE USE OF THE CONCEPT OF RACE DURING THE PERIOD

During the period examined it was the litarary image that consistently explained the phenomena relating to the character and cultural background of Africans in terms of race. It was also this image that methodically sub-divided African's inhabitants into racial groups. In other writings of the period racist theme frequently appeared but not predominant.

One of the basic assumption of racist thinking was its rigid distinction between the various races.[3)] It emphasised that the black race had been cut off from other races. The caucasian race was portrayed as more intelligent and with greater mental capacity than the negroid race, the Asiatic race and the Indian American race. The view or belief was that if the negroid races had certain characteristics indicating civilization they must have derived such civilization from the member of the caucasian race.

The litarary and the ethnographic images employed partly incompatible criteria for the division of mankind into racial groups. The most common criterion was a stature dichotomization which was assumed to be in force all over the globe which could be illustrated by the following

quotation:

> "... the Polynesians are beautiful, tall and well shaped. The colour of their skin ranges from light brown to slightly reddish colour. They live in well-organized communities. The Melasians are smaller in outlook, they are lumpishly built, their colour is dark; their hair is coarse and woolly. In mental capacity the Melanesians are far inferior to the Polynesians. The Polynasians are fully developed, mature men,whereas the Melanesians are to be regarded as hardly grown-up schoolboys"[4)]

The second criterion was the geographical location. The further to the South the races were located, the lower their position in the hierachy of races.

> "...the British and the Scandinavians maltreat their domestic animals less than the French who whip their animals intentionally. The Italians are like devils in their own treatment whereas the blacks races starve them..." [5)]

The former criterion was by far the most predominant. Even if racist thinking was frequently noticed in all forms of writing, there still tended to be some opinion against such a view.It was primarily the mission literature which pointed in the opposite direction as it championed the Christian doctrine of universalism. This opinion held that Christianity was for all of mankind, and that the divisions between human beings were only of religious and ethical nature.

> "... white people as well as the blacks have wicked instincts, but anyone who turns towards God is provided with new heart..."[6)]

As could be noticed races served a number of functions;One of these was the function of supporting the notion of a superior race. This notion was severely shaken during the period by the Japanese victory in the Japanese-Russian war. Thus it became common to speak of the "yellow danger" as a threat to civilization.[7)]Also in this connection a real attitude of fear for the Africans found expression. There was talk of a black danger which could threathen white supremacy in Africa.[8)]

When a precise definition could not be reached with regard to race an indirect method was resorted to in order to arrange the individual nations according to the system of race. A great majority of the examined works were operating within a Darwinistic universe. In other circles the biblical myth of the genesis was used for the same purpose.

Thus, the Africans were regarded as the son of kam or Ham namely: Rus,Mazraim, and Phut (Genesis 10.6.) [9]

A high proportion of the writings of the period resorted to the use of physical traits or characteristics as criteria for classification. It could be the use of type of "blood", a concept of which no specific definition was given, or even the colour of the skin, which determined the racial groupings of an individual. Often it was based on the language, but most often on a combination of all these characteristics was applied.

The method of classification which was adopted by C.Andersen in Salomensen's encyclopaedia was based on the distinction between two groups of races in Africa.[10] The Eranes and the nativee blacks were differentiated by their exterior characteristics, such as the colour of their skin and physiognomy,(that is the act of judging character from contours of the face.) These races were divided so that a variety of races and sub-races was derived.[11]

a) THE ERANIANS RACE:

i) The Hamites (Egyptians, Berbers, Tuareg)
ii) The Semites (Arabs and Phoenicians)
iii) The Fulanians and Nuba or Nubians and Masains
iv) The intermingling of the Hamitic and Negro types was believed to have produced the following type of race

b) THE BLACK RACE:

i) The real black-race (West Africans)
ii) The Bantu people
iii) The Hottentots and the Bushmen

It should be emphasised that most of the authors really were aware of the frailty and weakness of such a racial system of classification,[12] yet it was frequently used. The Hamitic myth gained strength when the Europeans encountered the Africans for the first time. They identified them as the decendants of "Ham" the son of Noah. It was believed that the condemnation of Ham by Noah his youngest son, and said:

Cursed be Canaan,
A servant of servants shall he be
unto his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.
God enlarge Japhet,
And let him dwell in the tent of shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.

The word "Ham" appears there for the first time in Genesis,chapter five.Noah cursed Ham, his youngest son as illustrated above. Then follows an enumeration of the sons of Noah: Shem,Ham,Japhet and their sons who were born to them after the flood. The Bible makes no mention of racial differences among the ancestors of mankind. It was much later that an idea of race appears with reference to the son of Noah; it concerns the decendants of Ham. The Babylonian Talmud,a collection of oral traditions of the Jews, appeared in the sixth century A.D; it states the decendants of Ham are cursed by being black, and depits Ham as a sinful man and his progeny as degenerates[13]. Thus, an early tradition identified the Hamites with Negroes and endowed them with both certain physiognominal attributes and an underirable character. Thus it became logical to justify the slave trade. Ideas have a way of being accepted when they become useful as a rationalization of economic facts of life. As Graves and Patai put it.

"... Negroes are doomed to serve men of light colour" [14]

This view was gratefully borrowed by Christians in the Middle ages. A severe shortage of cheap labour caused by the plague made the reinstitution of slavery attractive. The notion of the Negro-Hamite was generally accepted all over the European continent by 1600.

In one of the earliest post-medieval references found,Leo Africanus the great Arab traveller and one-time protégé of Pope Leo X wrote in 1526 about the Negro Africans as being descended from Ham. His translator, the Englishman. John Pory,followed the text with his own commentary in which he stressed the punishment suffered by Ham's descendants, thus reinforcing the myth in modern times.[15]

However, the discovery of the pre-historic civilization of Egypt in

the period around 1880 and the abolition of slave trade, sparked off a new trend of thinking. The biginning of the twentieth century saw the concept of the caucasoid hamite solidly established. From now on race theory was no longer based on the Bible, but rather on the scientific racial theories.[16] The racial classification of "Hamites" encompassed a great variety of types from fair-skinned,blonde, blue-eyed Berbers to the Ethiopians, Nubians,Somalis, the Gallas and the inhabitants of the Eastern part of Sahara. The northern branch include the Fulanis who had the physical characteristics of the Eranian race and linquistically were of the Negroid race.[17]

Theoretical definitions, however were not significant, but what mattered was the pratical use which was made of the Hamitic hypothesis. With the Hamites one had introduced a white group of people in Africa.[18] Through such a method it became easy to account for the existence of civilization traits, which,according to racial theories, the black Africans were unable to achieve. The most important of these qualities of civilization was the ability to form entralized city-states.

An obvious example was the well-organized kingdoms which the Europeans met as they approached lake Nyaza (Victoria) in what later became the Uganda protectorate.[19] Much importance was attached to the glorification of empire-building. It was thus a highly indispensible part of imperialistic ideology to show that black Africans were unable to set stable political syatem. Only when mediated by the whiterace was such a development possible.[20]

Before the turn of the century the colonial powers saw themselves as the successors of the Hamites. Evidence showed that it was in Uganda protectorate and in northern Nigeria that the British colonial administration put to practice their system of indirect rule fro the purpose of preserving the traditional political structure.

However, racist attitudes towards African civilization found their most explicit expression in the treatment of the Zimbabwe runis. The missionary Moffat and his son in-law Livingstone brought to the western world the knowledge that in Rhodesia secret and mighty ruins had been found.[21] Archaelogists discovered over 500 ruins and over

200 were examined. One of the first question that the European scientists addressed themselves to was: who had lived and worked in these ruins? The natives' answer to the question had long been that it was their own anestors who had lived and worked there.

On the contrary, the scientists who had engaged themselves in the study of the Rhodesian ruins contended that the Arabians colonialists had came to Rhodesia in search of gold but also institute a kind of colonial rule to supervice the natives on their behalf whom they later on enslaved to work their mines and farms.[22] Fascinating evidence was claimed to exist in abundance in Arabian libraries and in Lissabon without specifying on where the evedience could be found. Reports were said to be documented even up to the period of the Swedish king Gustaf II.

Among other things claimed to be discovered within the ruins were Portuguse cannons and many valuable ornaments.These included belongings of the Jesuits who had worked in the Monomtapa empire which had a lucrative export of gold.[23] It occured to no one to look for the solution to the mystery where it was most logically obvious with the scientific data on hand,for example, the inhabitants of the area, that is the Africans. So we could see that the conspicuous position of bias in the writings on Africa during the period was a product of various factors of which race was one. It fitted perfectly into the general imperialistic ideology which regarded the Africans as inferior to the Europeans.

The Hamitic concept had as its function to rationalize the exploitation of the negro by portraying him as inherently inferior to the white man.[24] It also fitted into the general trend of science of the period, primarily into Darwinist thinking. Hence it was simple to regard "backward" races as races which had fallen behind in the course of evolution. Apart from this the use of racial traits is a good example of an ideal system of explanation.

With a starting point in a noticeable difference between two groups for example, in colour of the skin, the groups were arranged into opposites in a dichitomous system. Thus the Africans were seen as

backward in all aspects, and when, as in the Zimbabwe, a vast pull of factual evidence existed to the contrary, the tendency was to resort to all types of tricks and falsification theories.

The African was not a tabula rasa, but had a past, a history which could be reconstructed, that it was a continent which knew empire builders at a time when large areas of Europe were stagnant, that it knew art and commerce was not realized.[25)]

6.2 THE CHILD ANOLOGY

Those who wrote about Africa and its inhabitants tried in various ways to condense their messages and information and to place them in a larger dimension. One frequent way of doing this was to apply the child anology to Africans. By comparing the Africans to children the purpose was to achieve certain specific aims. This was especially noticeable in the value socializing and the relational literature. The quality of the African character was made plain to the reader. Very few of the readers had ever met an African, but everybody knew fully well how the African behaved.

A good number of "loose" characteristics were systematized and unified in one single conception. The use of the anology had the function of justifying and legitimizing imperialism.[26)] If the Africans were children it was only natural that the Europeans took it upon themselves to govern and educate them. Notice the extensive use of terms like chastise,castigate and mapping-up or cleaning-up operations when referring to European conquest and expeditions in Africa.[27)]

It was the ethnographic sources and the school books that made the most extensive use of the image of the Africans as children and it was also here that the African image got its most detailed elaboration.

> "...the blacks are generally childish and changeable. They rejoice when it goes well for them, but in bad times they are retarded into agony. Good humoured with friends and cruel towards the enemy..., the blacks, like a child, is a man of the moment,he worries neither for the past nor for the future;..., also in respect to his mental capacity, the blacks are like children, their ability to imitate is great, but when it comes to independent thinking the situation becomes different.[28)]

In the literary sources one comes across the metaphor over and over again,[29] though a metaphor far less elaborated. The affectional sources also applied the anology widely,but the effect was somewhat diminished by the profession of a belief in a basic equality of the races. The affectional image did not always draw conclusions similar to those of other groups of sources. Emphasis was directed to the changeable character of the blacks and other qualities or traits. One could not possibly relate these traits only to blacks but to any other race because human beings of every race have a changable character but the quality of blacks as children has a specific function which we had already mentioned, but of, legitimizing European imperialism. Some of such traits could be expanded as here:

> "... the blacks are only children, but as children grow up they claim that one starts reckoning with them and so they have as a race neglected to take notice of this..." [30]

As previously mentioned various alleged characteristics of the Africans were condensed in the child anology. Like children the Africans were said to be impulsive,imaginative,fickle and dreamy.[31] They were said to be carefree and always lived a momentary life;...the blacks are like big children. They always are in search for the joyous aspects of life..." [32]

Such exhilaration of spirit could be regarded as a proof of thoughtlessness and irresponsibility;and taken as, a mark of the lower position of the Africans on the ladder of human evolution. According to Schwerin, who in the 1880's wrote on the traits of the black race.

> "...what is fasinating about the black race is their carefree disposition, their cheerful wiggle, all of which contributes to their being in the mood of playing at all times in resemblance of dogs.As one sees five to six black women sitting side by side in the sun...all their behavior resembles that of animals, gesticulating in the sun and in the intensive heat..., then one really cannot avoid being fond of them or being on one's guard against these people.[33]

We again meet thnocentrism here or what could be called a psychological distance, that is a fundamental difference between peoples both culturally and socially.[34] In most cases the writer was so carried away by the orchestration of the anology that it became in itself

idealized. Thus it was assumed that the mental capacities of the African were like those of a child, that the African seldom thought about anything and that he, indeed, was capable of imitating but certainly not of independent thinking.
These assumptions could easily have been corrected, but as they were framed contrary to African reality the application of the child anology on the Africans has since persisted.[35] If the African was like a child he had to have all the characteristics of a child, and the mental capacity of a child. One should not be blind to the legitimizing function of child anology.

6.2.1 CIVILIZATION AND SAVAGERY

All through our discussions in the thesis the single specific terms most frequently used in distinguishing between the Europeans and the Africans were the term civilization which was attributed to the former and the term savagery largely attributed to the latter. Before we proceed further we should concentrate our attention to investigate what exactly was meant by civilization?

There is no clear definition of what constitutes a civilization. Some authors have defined it as the act of civilising or the state of being civilized.

> "Civilization could be said to be the state of evolutionary changes undergone by the human species over all other lower mammals for example animals."[1]

As far back as 1856 Livingstone was thinking in terms of commerce, the regime of legitimate trade. This trait rather signified that to be civilized was to practice the regime of market economy which consisted of farming as the main industry, seconded by a stratified society and a specialized structure of industry comprising a well-developed division of labour.[2]

When the European missionaries resumed their activities in Africa they resorted to the same method as planters[3] and political agents of the colonial regimes.[4] The exchange of gin for the local produce could not

be classified as civilization.

Some of the legal aspects involved here concern the role of civilising agents.

> " A footing cannot be made on the Congo" wrote Stanley."
>
> "...without having first entered into agreement or treaty with the chiefs,either for commercial or philantropic purposes" 5)

Obviously, when such treaties or agreements were signed they were often an understanding communicated by an European or American linguist who often did not speak the local language and so one could witness that early missionaries in Africa brought with them an undefined civilization to the Africans, and that the monopoly imperialism or the regime of legitimate trade which accompanied this civilization in the long run succeeded in corrupting the original character of the natives.

Another aspect that was considered here was the cannibalism which had raged in Africa. Descriptions of cannibalism were very common in the writings of the period. It was attributed to various factors or circumstances. Partly, it was seen as a particular exotic trait which was used as an entertaining or thrilling ingredient in the various sources. Although the occurence of cannibalism could not be denied, it was often a self-defence mechanism against the invading aliens who were reenforcing their own will on the native Africans. In the long run cannibalism became a suitable argument in defence of imperialism. It also made an excellent illustration in the explanation and description of the African state of civilization.

6.2.2 THE PROBLEM OF INTER-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The child anology could be related to inter and intra-cultural sensitivity or within- and between-cultural sensitivity. The cultural sensitivity experienced by the six images in their treatment of the subject Africa could be related to their respective "belief systems". This explains the failure of the different acting groups to understand or even act as sounding board for the intellectual,moral and political debate about the (real conditions) of the Africans such as

their tradition on polygamy as an economic necessity which enhanced greater agricultural out-put rather than attributing it to the Africans laziness. The prevalence of such explanations could be traced to a lack of credibility on the part of the acting groups in relating their gross misinterpretations of African customs to their political audience. For example, the affectional literature utilized their description of polygamy as a strategy to further the Christiane dogma and ideology.

Finally, the problem of inter-cultural communication could also be related to view-points, behavior etc; For example , the free expression on sex or birth control in one cultural setting could be a tabu in another culture. This, in other words,is the relativity of culture or what I shall call "cultural relativism". Behavior is relative to culture and language, in other words, defines culture. Therefore this has been why the traditional chiefs function as instruments for change in most African societies. Even today the traditional chiefs are engaged in achieving some results in the matter of birth control. The problem with the relational actors was that they failed to allow the environment to define its needs but rather implanted an unworkable system which finally alienated the environment. The outright failure of the relational actors or the missionaries in spreading their faith in Sudan and northern Nigeria and the northern parts of Africa was a firm indicator of this point.

Why the affectional actors failed was because they neglected to phrase some simple questions such as: what were the African's needs? in terms of immediate necessities such as roads, water supplies, technical inputs such as fertilizer. In other words, they failed to build a program of change in the language of the environment with such messages that related to social change. Needs such as roads, water supplies etc were the genuine agents to social change rather than the efforts of the affectional actors who tried to export their own cultural experience to a different cultural-setting with a resultant total faliure.

7. EXPLANATION, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

My objective as outlined in the introductory chapter of this thesis was to describe the Swedish conception of Africa. If one proposes that people's views on the whole are formed by the printed sources of information one could draw reliable conclusions as to how the different groups within the population viewed Africa by examining the various types of printed materials which they were reading. Very little is known about the reading habits of the Swedish population during the period of this study. However, it would be reasonable to assume that the pattern of reading habits was directly proportional to the education and to the level of income.

Ostensibly we could illustrate our findings with the following explanations. Education and socio-economic status of the groups were both correlated to the patterns of reading on the subject of Africa during the period before 1914. First and foremost, it could be pausibly stated to the bulk of the Swedish population, Africa must have been very much, partly because the available printed materials contained very little information about Africa. Only for certain groups of the population was Africa more than just a continent of which news were gathered at random. Mostly this applied to people with an interest in missionary work abroad. But also the admirers of thriller-like literature and peopletaking some interest in ethnography must have occupied themselves quite intensively with special aspects of Africa. On the whole Africa was mentioned mostly in school textbooks, newspapers and magazines which makes for the probability that almost all Swedes must have had at least in passing some conception of the continent however vague.

In the daily newspapers we have an example of how the conception of Africa was linked to the general outlook, especially in terms of political views. The general trend was that the more conservative the dailies were the more negatively they portrayed Africans. Presumably, this was an observation which applied not only to the newspapers but to the population at large.

The image of Africa drawn by the printed material is astonishingly

homogeneous. It is marked by a reasoning relying on stereotypes and clichés. The African and the African civilization are rather consistently down-graded or devalued. The thinking is highly ethnocentric. All the various examined sources share an unshakeable belief in the existence of a specific biological difference between Europeans and Africans. The popular belief is that the difference is many times larger than any difference between the individual persons. The common view that the European type of civilization is normative for human behavior became an ideology in its form and so despite the brutal conquest of foreign people which paved the way for such an evolution strange and foreign peoples with their patterns of civilization are regarded as bizarre and inferior. Usually racist arguments are used to explain such inferiority. These stereotyped conceptions of the African and particularly the negroid race forms the image of him, which the Swedes were projecting in their minds, having an astonishing similarity to those of the nineteenth century British and Americans.

It seems that those stereotypes were widespread in all European societies and this fact has been very persistent over time. During the 9-years that we have here empirically examined we have not noticed any change in the conception of black Africa. The ubiquity and stability of this factor has meant that Africa was overwhelmed by the western influence and as a result became an intergral part of the western system.

The general cultural climate in Europe was one of optimism and chauvinism. It was accepted in advance that whatever the Europeans were doing in Africa was justifiable and right. To a very large extent, this has been the very reason why idealization of imperialistic tendencies has been condoned. Although not a major colonial power in Africa for any longer period of time, and thus not forced to justify imperialism, Sweden has always been an integral part of western Europe.[6)]

Apparently the Swedish image of Africa was formed through the surrounding countries of western Europe. Almost all the avaliable literary

works about Africa or the Africans were translations from foreign languages. Even the works in anthropology and ethnography and the newspapers drew heavily on foreign sources as the images of Africa were formulated.

Although the conception of Africa among the Swedes was rather homogenous, the views of the different groups of sources still varied significantly. The literary source attached more importance to the characteristics of individuals, especially in terms of clichés such as the blood-thirst and malicious cruelty of the black African.

Perhaps the ethnographic and the value socializing sources attached more weight to 'grand' generalizations. There interest was mostly concentrated to the cultural area where the stereotype of the childish African was particularly prominent.

The affectional image was particularly concerned with religion. The African was primarily seen as a heathen and as an object for mission work. The newspapers, finally, were mostly concerned with topical events in Africa.

The differences among the individual groups of sources are due to the fact that the image of Africa, apart from serving the main function of justifying European imperialism, also had to serve some more group-directed functions.

In the literary image stereotypes such as"a black soul in a black body" served as a starting point for a simplistic character sketch, and at the same time served a good background for a exciting plot. The scientific desire of fitting everything into a system of little boxes or models forced the ethnographic image to twist and distort the African to make him fit the system.

In the affectional image the heathen society served as a deterring background for edification, and the description of the converted Africans was marked by the wish to justify the sacrifices made.The image drawn by the daily newspaper was a function of their general political affiliation and outlook. Often it was used for agitative purposes.

We could here conclude that the Africa seen by the Swedish was an Africa hidden behind so many distorting and dislocating lenses (that jig-sawed hither and thither till) it acquired a meaning directly opposite the truth. This made it difficult for the Swedes to view Africa as it really was, and at the same time the events and changes in Africa had great difficulty in penetrating the lenses. It is, however, characteristic that the conception of the ordinary Swede did not undergo any real significant changes until the decolonization process which was set in motion in the beginning of the 1960's.

NOTES (AND CITED REFERENCES)

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1) Torstendahl.R: Historia som vetenskap p.33
2) Boulding.K.E: The image p.6. See also his, National images and international systems.The Journal of conflict resolution vol. III no 2 p.120.The definition of the image could be drawn from the concept developed by Kenneth Boulding.The image is built up as a result of all past experience of the possessor of the image, ie, upon cumulative knowledge.

1.1 SURVEY OF CONTENTS

3) See. Simon .H.A: Administrative behavior p.63
4) Holsti.K.J: International politics pp.139-142. The middle-range objectives would here include many different forms of self-extension or imperialism.European imperialism in Africa between 1870 and 1900 was a mixture of public and private economical and ideological purposes.
5) Holsti.O.R: Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities pp.14-17
6) Vedung.E: The study of contents and functions of political ideas pp.197-199

1.2 SOURCE MATERIAL

7) Mitchell.D.G: A dictionary of sociology p.87

2 SOURCE MATERIAL AND THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

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3) Almond & Coleman: The politics of the developing areas p.249
4) Nielson.A: Swedish index of books (1905 - 10) and (1910 - 15). The editor was assistant librarian at the University of Uppsala.
5) Cairns.H: Prelude to imperialism: British reaction to Central African society 1840 - 1890 p.252
6) Almond & Coleman op.cit.p.249
7) Cairns op.cit. p.39, see also: Kemp T: The theories of imperialism.
8) Furhoff.L: Some reflections on newspapers concentration in; The Scandinavian economic history review vol. XX,no 1,p.16
9) Ibid p.7 See also: Elif. Hechscher: An economic history of Sweden. The chapter on the great transformation (1815 - 1914)
10) Nielsen.K: Rational explanation in history in S.Hook (ed.) : Philosophy and history.A symposium pp.296 - 322
11) Dike.K.O: Trade and politics in the niger delta.
12) Helley.D: Informed opinion on tropical Africa in Britain (1860 - 1890)
13) Among the authors that could be mentioned in our limited space note especially:
    Dike Op.cit.
    Oliver.R: The missionary factors in East Africa
    Hargreaves:D.J: Prelude to the partition of West Africa.Among the young and most recent writers see also:
    Kiambo and Temn: A history of Tanzania
    Ekundare: O.R: An economic history of Nigeria (1860 - 1960)
14) Ochieng; W: Ideology in African history.African magazine NO 20, April 1973

2.1 AFRICA THROUGH EUROPEAN EYES

1) George.C: The civilized west looks at primitive Africa pp.62-72
2) Helley.D: 'Informed opinion on tropical Africa in Britain 1860-1890' in African affairs NO 272,pp.195 - 217
3) Curtin.P: The image of Africa: British ideas and actions 1780 - 1870.
4) Ibid: Cairns Op.cit. p.39.
5) George: C: Op.cit. p.63
6) Ibid: p.65
7) Ibid: p.66
8) Ibid: p.70
9) Curtin,Op.cit.pp.9-10
10) Ibid: p.144
11) Ibid: p.144 ff
12) Ibid: p.207 ff
13) Ibid: p.325 ff
14) Ibid:pp.338-9
15)Cairns.H.A:Op.cit.p.X11 ff
16) Ochieng: W: Op.cit.
17) Ibid: For a full description of the Ugandan campaign see:Low.B: Buganda in modern history.Chapter 2 British public opinion and the Uganda question Oct. - Dec.1892
18) Curtin: Op.cit.p.366
19) Helley: Op.cit.p.216 ff
20) Cairns: Op.cit.p.39 ff p.75 ff.
21) Ibid: p.98
22) Ibid: p.237
23) Ibid: p.235 and p.252
24) Curtin: Op.cit.pp.6-8

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS AND RACE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1) Curtin:Op.cit.p.13
2) See: E.M.Albert: Value systems in encyclopaedia of social sciences pp.287-91
3) Zweig.S: Verden af igår: Zweig laid emphasis on the description of the period before the first world war.The topic of his theme was. "Tryghedens Verden"
4) Bury.J.B: The idea of progress p.64
5) Ibid:p.278
6) Bowle.J: Politics and opinion in the nineteenth century.An historical introduction,p.260
7) Curtin: Op.cit.p.64
8)Cairns : Op.cit.p.88
9) Curtin: Op.cit.p.259
10) Ibid: p.64
11) Ibid: p.388
12) Bahnson.Kr: Etnografien fremstillet i hovedtraek vol.1 - 11 1894 - 1900 pp.LXV: 548 - 718
13) See: The book of Moses in the Old Testament of the Bible chapter 10 for a more detailed account with regard to this division of the human race.
14) See also: The remarks of Professor Blumenbach upon negroes in Voigts magazin fur das neueste aus der physik in appendix NO 1V pp.275 - 283. Thomas Winterbottom vol.11.An account of the natives Africans in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone London second ed.
15) Ibid: T.Winterbottom vol.1 p.22
16) Bahnson Op.cit. p.231
17) Curtin Op.cit.p.366:See also: Bahnson Op.cit. P.23,for more insight to the new science of frenology.
18) Curtin: Op.cit.p.364
19) See: International encyclopaedia of the social sciences vol.13 pp.263-7.On the article: Social race.By Marvin Harris and also Race and Genetics pp.109-112 By: J.N.Spuhler vol.6

20) Harris: Op.cit. pp.266-7
21) Barzun.J.A: A study of modern superstition p.69 and also; Darwin: The voyage of the "Beagle": With an introduction and appreciation by H.E.L: Mellersh pp.509-535
22) Harris: Op.cit.p.63
23) Barzun: Op.cit.p.11
24) Wyatt Macgaffey: Concepts of race in the histography of North East Africa.Journal of African history NO. 7 p.1

3 THE THEORETICAL RELEVANCE OF THE CONCEPT IMAGE

1) Wright.G.H.von: Historiallinen Arkisto 63: On the topic historical explanation in historical science p.161
2) Ibid: pp.155-174
3) Brewster M.Smith: International encycolpaedia of social science vol.1 p.446
4) Von Wright: On the topic; Historical explanation in historical science p.163
5) Johansson,Kalleberg and Liedman: Positivism,Marxism,Kritikteori pp.1-38
6) Von Wright: Op.Cit.p.168
7) Enerstvedt R.Th: Dialektikk og samfunsvitenskap p.72 See also: Liedman et al on the topic Marxism och vettnskap teori pp.69-73 Marxism,Kritiskteori.
8) Witt-Hansen: The German ideology "Karl Marx" p.127
9) See also: Kalleberg et al on the article "Habermas kritik av positivismen.Positivism,Marxism,Kritiskteori pp.121-125
10) Enerstvedt. Op.cit.p.109 and p.153
11) Ibid: p.72
12) Poulantzas.Nico: Om samhallsklasser Zenit no 4 p.30

3.1 THEORIES ON ATTITUDE FORMATION AND OPINIONS

13) Opinion and opinion building as a historical research object Osolo p.30
14) See also: Rosenberg and Hovland: Communication and persuation:psychological studies of opinion change

15) Klapper.J: The effect of mass communication p.19

3.2 SOME RELEVANT THEORIES ON ATTITUDE FORMATION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE DERIVED FROM EXPERIMENTS IN SMALL GROUPS

16) International encyclopaedia of social science vol.1 By: Brewster S. P.449

17) Kiesler,Collins & Miller: Attitude change: A critical analysis of theoretical approach p.66

18) Ibid: p.93

19) Ibid: p.155

20) Ibid: p.199

21) Nowark.K. and Wärneryd: Kommunikation och påverkan p.22

3.2.1 THEORETICAL GENERALIZATIONS BASED ON FIELD RESEARCH

22) Kiesler,Collins & Miller Op.cit. p.302

23) Nowak och Wärneryd: Op.cit p.27 See also Klapper Op.cit.p.8

24) Nowark och Wärneryd p.87 and Klapper Op.cit.p.5

25) Ibid: Nowak et al p.143

26) Ibid: p.92

27) Ibid: Nowark et al p.107

28)Ibid: pp.19-26

29) Hovland & Rosenberg Op.cit. p.107

30) Klapper: Op.cit.p.8 and p.15

31) Gilbert: The psychology of dictatorship p.117 cited from World politics vol.1V Oct., 1951 - July 1952: Arnold Wolfer: Poles of power and indifference p.53. See also Klapper Op.cit. p.54 ff

32) Ibid : p.54 f

3.2.1.1 APPLICABILITY OF THE EXPLORED THEORIES ON AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF IMAGES

33) Buchanan.W & Centril H: How nations see each other p.57

34) Ibid. p.53

35) Johnston.H.H: See the book,: The negro in the world

36) Waller.S.M: Historisk opinion undersökning Svensk historisk tidsskrift p.265

37) Furhoff.L: Op.cit.p.17. At this period the political parties in Sweden were particularly anxious to keep competion between daily newspapers as important organs of propaganda.Before 1920 some daily papers were being subsidised for political reasons.

4 A COMMUNICATION MODEL

1) What is meant with the medium here is the means that was utilized in projecting the Africa's, that is,the media of transmission. The means are to be located within our empirical material. Whenever the word (i.e.a noun) is utilized,it rather refers to the different source materials in use.

2) Hoffman S. (ed.): Contending theory in international relations pp.40-53

3) Knorr & Rosenan (ed.) : Contending approach to international politics p.76

4) The derivation of sets of 5 questions was originally suggested by Lasswell.H.D.: In power and personality pp.37-51

5) Zimbardo & Ebbersen: Influencing attitudes and changing behavior. A basic introduction to relevant methodology,theory and applications.

6) Harold A. Abramson: Problems of conciousness pp.18-20

7) Mckeon R: Introduction to Aristotle p.620

8) Cartwright.D: Some principles of mass persuasion.Human relations vol.2 pp.253 - 267

9) Linton H.& Graham E: Personality correlates of persuasibility in Hovland and Janis pp.69-101

10) Rarich G.R: Effect of two components of communication prestige American Association of public opinion research.

4.1 HOW IMAGES CAN AFFECT RATIONAL CHOICE

11) Fredrich.C.J: Man and his government p.70

12) Herbert.S.A: Administrative behavior: A study of decision-making process in administrative organization p.75

13) Dye T.R: Understanding public policy pp.17-18

14) Lindblom.C.E: The science of muddling through public administration review pp.79 -88 Cited from: Dye Op.cit

15) Ibid: p.29

4.1.1 "SOCIO-DYNAMISM AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE CONCEPT OF SELF"

16) Simon Herbert.A: Op.cit p.63

17) Mead.G.H: Mind,Self,and Society: With an introduction by Charles W.Morris pp.135-225 Seealso: Rosenberg M: The logic of survey analysis p.107

18) Mead.OPcit.pp.140-225

19)The appercetive mass which is referred to here is the state of the

mind within the sub-groups. The after-effect of the sources which are to be located within the complex ideas being about an act of voluntary conciousness among the acting groups, this in turn creates spontanous thoughts such as mythological concepts e.t.c.

4.2 THE RELEVANCE OF THE SELF-PRESERVATION AND SELF-EXTENSION GOALS

20) World politics: Arnold Wolfers: The pole of power and pole of indifference pp.50-63 no.1 - October 1951

21) The term political agent is not used here in a derogatory fashion. It was a word carefully coiled by Schwerin.Schwerin's works consists of research in Central and South Africa. Most of his research also included the central part of the Congo state,ending at the mouth of the Congo - river. Schwerin collected interesting specimens of the pre-history and valued African ethnographic remainings for the acedemy of science in the field of ethnography. After his return to Sweden he was appointed Swedish/Norwegian Consul-general to the Congo - state between 1887 -1897 and that of the Royal Danish between 1897 - 1909

Schwerin carefully noted in a 99-paged manuscript 'Equality as an illusion'. In England at his time, the missionaries are often classified as "political agents" and the same dilemma existed in the German South West African colony.See: "European civilization mission among the inhabitants of nature.Manuscript Department. Lund University Library

CHAPTER 5 RHETORICAL AND PERSUASIVE IDEAS MODEL
INTRODUCTION

1) Nass A: Communication and argument. Elements of applied semantics p.97

2) Ibid: p.97 ff.

3) Hook: Op.cit. p.259

4) Hoffman S: Op.cit.p.40 and 53 ff.

5) Vedung.E: The study of contents and functions of political ideas p.200

5.1 PATTERN RECOGNITION ANALYSIS

6) Gibson.J.E: Pattern recognition pp.30-11 in engineering handbook (ed.) Machol R.E: et al

7) Selfridge.O.G: Pandemonium pp.513-530

8) Sneath P.H.A: Evaluation of clustering methods.In Cole A.J.(ed.) Numerical Taxonomy

THE EMPIRICAL LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

5.2 AFFECTIONAL IMAGE

5.2.1 TECHNIQUES IN THE DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA'S NATURAL BACKGROUND

1) Livingstone D: Missionary travels (1840-1856) pp.25-6

2) Hannington: Faror och Adventyr i Central Afrika

3) Grogan E.S & Arthur .H.Sharp: Från Kap till Kairo

4) Bitar för alla (A forthnightly magazine) (ed.) Hugo Carlegard. See also A.Karlgren: Svenska Kyrkan's mission i Syd Afrika pp. 5-9

5) Svensk Kyrka Tidningen p.411,1904 p.291 and 1908 p.57 ff

6) Livingstone Op.cit. p.43 See also: Vecko Journalen no 32 August 11 p.504,p.530 "With Berge in the Congo" In the illustrated newspapere in the Swedish homes.

7) Hannington: Op.cit.pp.23-25

8) Ibid:p.25 ff

9) Livingstone Op.cit. pp.227-8 See also Bitar för alla pp.9-10

5.2.1.1 STRATEGIC TECHNIQUES IN THE CHARACTERIZATION OF AFRICANS

10) The term "nigger" is largely pseudo-biological.Unfortunately the word 'nigger' has been used even by Swedish and English dictionaries. This term in itself tends to be quite a derogatory adjective that has been used to discredit the black races more especially those from Africa. The polygenist Charles White had been among the propagators of this adjective in the 18th century in his regular gradation of man and it is still most unfortunate and perhaps regeratable that such words have consistently been used despite the so-called degree of civilization. Such words have still yet not been deleted from these dictionaries.See for example, the appendix no III p.273 Vol. I Winterbottom . T: An account of the natives Africans in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.

11) Hj.Danell: Påtryckande från Svenska kyrka mission i Syd Afrika och Syd Indian. Introduction p.XXlV and p.8 ff

12) Karlgren Op.cit.p.496 Missionary Axel Herman Liljestrand and his works in Rhodesis and also in the "Till Ditt Rike" on the topic "Liljestrand minnesanteckning"

13) Ibid: pp.99-101

5.2.2 AN APPRAISAL OF AFRICANS IN THE AFFECTIONAL LITERATURE

14) Sköld.V: Årlig rapport för Nuene mission i Rhodesia

14b) Ibid: Sköld p.36

14c) S Grogan and A.Sharp Op.cit.p.350

15) Some comments from an inspection tour Hj.Danell Op.cit 1907

16) Grogan &Sharp Op.cit.p.355

17) Ibid: p.356

18) Ibid: p.356 ff

19) Hj.Danell Op.cit.p.10 and p.24 ff

20) V.Sköld Op.cit.See also: Karlgren Op.cit. pp.364-375 and pp. 467-472

5.2.2.1 MISSIONARY OBJECTIVES AND THE AFRICAN CHRISTIANS

21) Ibid: See also the topic on evangelist Petro Kuumalo and Levi Umbata pp.467-471

22) See the protocol at the conference meeting with the Swedish church mission (SCM) in South Africa at Ekutulani from 16-21 July 1898 SCM Archives

23) Hammar H.B: Ost Afrinska mission 1865-1900 pp.245-248. For a historical statistics overview see also pp.249-256

5.3 AN APPRAISAL OF AFRICAN'S CULTURE AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

24) See: Det Interessant Bladet: The topic: In prisonment in the hands of maneaters pp.841-844.See also Sunday magazine (Gothenburg) p.856 and Bitar för alla p.15 On feasting ceremony. These are only few of our sources in our list of examples.

25) Oliver R: Op.cit.p.24

26) Ibid: p.9

27) SCM newspapers p.246

28) Karlgren Op.cit.pp.37-43

29) Kraemer H: The Christian message in a non-Christian world pp.342-343.

30) La Palombara J:(ed.) Bureaucracy and political development in in J.D.Kingsley: Bureaucracy and political development, with particular reference to Nigeria p.304

5.3.1 AFFECTIONAL STRATEGIC VIEWS ON POLYGAMY

31) H.J. Danell Op.cit.p.207

32) Ibid: p.117

33) Nordisk Mission tidsskrift p.45 pp.123-179 and 117-137. An article by P.Terp: On the Nyamwesi people

34) Hammar Op.cit.p.245-8

35) Nordisk Mission - tidsskrift (NMT) p.34

5.3.1.1 ON AFRICAN RELIGION

36) NMT p.105 pp.68,116-126

37) SMN (Swedish mission newspaper) p.190

38) NMT p.69 pp.122-151 Ibid

39) SMN (1916) Joseph Söderström 's resident in Africa from 1913-1915

40) NMT p.8 Ibid

41) Ibid: pp.170,99-128 See also Livingstone Op.cit.pp.25-28

42) Livingstone Ibid pp.206 and 238

5.3.2 THE LITERARY IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

1) Granlund: Neger Trohet och Neger-hämnd

2) Janek: Bland Boerna och Britterna 1899-1900 pp.14,97 and 107

3) Grandlund Op.cit.p.40

4) Janek Op.cit.pp.65-70

5.3.2.1 PHYSICAL EXTERIOR OF THE AFRICANS

5) Kamke H: Heddas laro år i Afrika p.91

5.4 ARGUMENT OVER THE AFRICAN CHARACTER

6) Granlund Op.cit.p.108

7) Löwenadler C.O Eksjo: Ett fältåg i Afrika,minnes från Matabelekriget pp.8-11

8) Cairns Op.cit. p.107

9) Löwendler Op.cit pp.20-21

10) Carins Op.cit. p.62

11) Ibid: p.22 See Kamke H: Op.cit.p.41 and Ajayi J.F.A: Christian mission in Nigeria 1841-1891 pp.61 and 108

12) Janek Op.cit pp.7-14

13) Löwendler Op.cit.p.8

14) Ibid: p.11

15) Cairns Op.cit.p.107

16) Löwendler Op.cit.p.10

17) Ibid:pp.50-63

18) Ibid: pp.54-57

19) Fairchild H.N: The noble savage p.2

20) Furnas J.C: Goodbye to uncle Tom p.52

5.4.1 DISCUSSIONS ON THE AFRICAN'S PRIMITIVE SITUATION (AND A POLICY FOR REMEDING THE SITUATION)

21) Kamke Op.cit.p.85 and p.91

22) Löwendler Op.cit.pp.73-74

23) Kamke Op.cit.p.108

24) Ibid:pp.100-103

5.4.1.1 ABOUT THE EUROPEANS IN AFRICA

25) Hargreaves: Prelude to African partition of West Africa p.41

26) Löwendler Op.cit. p.62

27) Frenssen G: Peter Moor's färd till Sydväst p.59

28) Ibid: Such favourable attitudes are always reflected during the the process of military involvements or colonial administration pp.23-34

29) Janek Op.cit.p.14 especially "The Scandinavian free corps body"

5.4.1.1 THE EVALUATION OF THE AFRICANS

30) Kamke Op.cit.p.114

5.4.1.2 THE DISCUSSION ON THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND

31) Ibid: p.114 ff See also: Jones: Studies in African music pp.61-7

32) Kamke Op.cit. p.114 ff

33) Ibid: p.138

5.4.2 THE DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

34) Tempels.P: Bantu Philosophy p.44 See also: J.S.Mbite: African religion and philosophy pp.30-60 and p.105

35) Tempels.Op.cit. p.44

36) Gluckman: Politics,Law and ritual in tribal society p.81

5.5.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

5.5.3.1 RAMIFICATIONS OF DEBATES ON THE NATURAL BACKGROUND

1) Dreyer.W: Den hvide races sejrsgang pp.150-168

2) YMER p.84

3) Bahnson.K; & Carlfredstrup: Etomografien fremstillet i den hoved traek vol.2 pp.115-1997

4) Curtin.P.Op.cit p.67 and also Gairns Op.cit.p.80 ff.

5) Jenssen.T.H; (1902-05) Skandinavaver i Congo pp.132,157-168

6) Ibid: pp.152,155-235

7) Ibid: especially p.235

8) Ibid: pp.13-156. The swamp weather conditions are dealt extensively on pp.58,99,375. Whereas on warm condition pp.58 and 99.Finally the general condition of the temperature could be found in pp.158 and 349

9) YMER Op.cit. pp.82-3

5.5.3.2 RAMIFICATION OF DEBATES ABOUT EUROPEANS IN AFRICA

10) Ibid: pp.10-11

11) Ibid: p.81 seealso Tusch J. Op.cit. pp.29 and 49

12) Ibid: pp.41-55 and pp.105-157

13) Madsen.H: Afrika i populaer fremstilling p.75

14) K.Bahnson Op.cit. vol.1 pp.Xiii - Xiv

15) YMER p.117

16) Dreyer Op.cit. vol.2 p.242

17) Ibid: vol.2 pp.281p284 and pp.163-430

18) Ibid: vol; 1 p.469

19) YMER pp.113-114

5.5.4 RAMIFICATION OF DEBATES ON THE AFRICAN CHARACTER AND CULTURE

20) Schwerin papers.Manuscript Department, Lund University library.
21) Bruun D: Afrika: Det opdagelse erobring og kolonisation vol.1 and 2
22) Bahnson etal Op.cit.vol.2 p.145
23) Ibid: p.152
24) Ibid: pp.129-158
25) Ibid: pp.147-155
26) Tusch J. Op.cit.pp.144.154-7
27) MadsenH.Op.cit. p.78
28) TuschJ.Op. cit. pp.150-187
29) Ibid
30) Salmonsen konversations leksikon vol.1 p.263. Article on Africa by C.Andersen
31) Bruun: Africa vol.1 p.253
32) Ibid: pp.127-155
33) Ibid: pp.108 and 163
34) Mbiti: African religion and philosophy pp.29-80
35) Article on Africa by C.Andersen, in Salmonsen store illustrede konversationsleksikon vol.1 p.266
36) Mbiti Op.cit.p.140
37) Ibid: pp.26-156
38) The differentiations of roles between the sexes is described in more detail by J.J.Nielsen in Salmonsens konversationsleksikon vol.2 pp.62-150

5.5.5 RAMFICATIONS OF DEBATES OVER REGIONAL DIFFERENCE

39) Salmonsen konversations leksikon Op.cit.vol.1 pp.265-266
40) Ibid: p.267
41) Bruun Op.cit. vol.2 pp.75-157 and vol.1 pp.154 and p.354
42) Ibid: vol.1 pp.92-162
43) Curtin Op.cit. p.25
44) Flint.J.E: ' The growth of European influence in Ajayi and Espie (ed.) A thousand year of west African history pp.364-385
45) Dike.K.O: Op.cit.p37

46) Curtin: Op.cit.p.256

47) Encyclopaedia of social sciences. The origin of race vol.Vi p.112 f

48) Ibid: p.112 ff Race difference in behavior

49) Oliver and Mathew (ed.) History of East Africa vol.1 pp.420-422

5.5.5.1 RAMIFICATION OF THE ARGUMENTS ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

50) Bruun Op.cit. vol.2 p.169

51) Dreyer Op.cit. vol.1 p.275

52) Bruun Op.cit. vol.2 p.116 vol.1 pp.152-354

53) Ibid: vol.2 p.158 vol.1 pp.80-123

54) Curtin Op.cit. p.463

5.5.5.1.1 RAMIFICATION OF DEBATES ON RELIGION

55) Bahnson Op.cit. vol.2 p.196

56) Ibid: p.205 and pp.123-155

57) Ibid: p.158

58) Ibid: pp.160-299

59) Salmonsens konversationsleksikon,vol.iv p.818 Article on Africa by: C.Andersen

60) Schwerin papers: Schwerin also indicated that the white race has a responsibility towards the lower races in the work of civilization through which the black race could gain their own human value. See also Sanderson: Africa in the noneteenth century and Langer: Diplomacy of imperialism 1890-1902

61) Rosenberg, L: Roosevelt i Afrika og min rejse fra Kairo till Kap pp.26-7

62) Oliver & Mathew Op.cit.pp.158-182

63) Ibid: pp.182-195

5.5.6 VALUE SOCIALIZING IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

1) The term value in this image has no direct relationship in meaning to the Boulding.K: The image pp.50-1

2) Tingsten: Gud och fosterland p.13

5.5.6.1 NATURAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUNDS

3) Almquist.S: Jordens lander och folk pp.110-112 ff.

4) Jansson: De Europeiska kolonierna p.113 ff

5) Almquist Op.cit p.112

5.5.7 THE STRATEGY BEHIND THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE AFRICANS

6) Almquist. Op.cit. pp.113-114

7) Jansson: Op.cit.pp.23-113

8) Berg: Lärdbok i Geografi för folkskolan pp.96-7

9) Ibid: p.99-100

10) Hedin: Från pol till pol del 2 p.115

11) Ibid: pp.119-207; seealso Berg Op.cit. pp.99-100

12) Polenz: Framtidens land geografi Amerika p.119

5.5.7.1 ON THE AFRICAN RELIGION

13) Almquist, Op.cit.pp113-4

14) Berg,Op.cit.p97

5.5.7.2 RELATIONAL IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

1) Selltiz et al : Research method in social relation pp.268-9

5.5.8 EXPRESSIVE ARGUMENTS ON THE COASTAL STATES SOUTHOF SAHARA

2) Stenfelt.G: Bland negerna på Afrika västkust: see also: Mattsson. En herre far till Zanzibar p.98 Op.cit Stenfelt p.13

3) Ibid:p.67 ff.

4) Ibid: p.67 f

5) Mattsson: Op.cit. chapter 5

6) Stenfelt: Op.cit. p.101

7) Nerén: På veldet pp.12-14 see also von Rosen: Från Kap till Alexandra p.51

8) Tärnlund.A: Under tropisk sol: pp.109-110

9) Ibid:pp. 117-120 See also Lindblom Afrinska stövtåg pp.124-127

10) Churchill: My African journey pp.59-60 and p.61 ff.

11) The haklyt society ser.2 no.6: The strange adventure of A.Battell pp.52-62

12) Churchill: Op.cit. p.89

5.5.8.1 PRESCRIPTIVE ARGUMENTS ON THE AFRICAN CHARACTER

13) Stenfelt Op.cit. pp.26-29

14) Ibid: p.85

15) Nerén Op.cit.p.122

16) Nordström: Från min Afrika resa pp.37-75

17) The Haklyt society: Op.cit. pp.10-18 the strange adventure of A.Battell

18) Cannibalism is said to have prevailed until recently over a great part of the world, and a sporadic cannibalism occurs among more civilized peoples as a result of necessity such as in the elimination of natives for the establishment of white settlements as in Australia and Newzealand. This is known as a manifestation of the disease of cannibalism: see Encyclopaedia Britannica p.745 vol.4

19) Kingsley.M: West African studies pp.272-5

5.5.8.2 EXPRESSIVE ARGUMENTS ON AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS

20) Ibid: pp.360-393

21) Lindblom Op.cit.pp.31-38 ff

22) Ibid: pp.129-144 f

23) Ibid: p.144 ff

24) Ibid: pp. 27-30,see also, the book of Genesis chapter 10 and 18

25) Tärnlund Op.cit.pp.33-39 ff pp.40-47 and pp.140-1

26) Ibid: pp.54-62 ff.

27) Ibid: pp.287-8 and pp.292-3 ff.

5.5.9 SOME INTERROGATIVE ARGUMENTS ON THE AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL ABILITY

28) Ibid: p.124

29) Ibid: pp.293-4 ff

5.5.9.1 THE POLITICAL IMAGE WITH THREE CASE STUDIES

1) A.Wolfers: The pole of power and the pole of indifference.world politics p.63

2) Nybom: Motstånd-anpassning-uppslutning p.10 f

3) Wolfers Op.cit.p.61

4) Nybom: Op.cit. p.15 f

5) Encyclopaedia Britannica pp.122,122B.See also: International Encyclopaedia of social sciences: Imperialism pp.101-108 (by H.Daalder)

6) Kjellén: Staten som lifsform p.67

7) " Stormakterna: III p.30,32; II , 173

8) A theory of imperialism could be found in the works of the British economist Hobson J.A.A: Study of imperialism pp.52-68 and later Lenin.V.I: Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism pp.104-118. For further reading: Lichtheim G. Imperialism.

9) Dreyer: Op.cit. vol.2 p.154

5.5.6 A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE NAMA-HERERO WAR IN GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

10) Bley.H: Social discord in South West Africa 1894-1904 in Gifford and Louis (eds.) British and Germany in Africa p.609 ff

11) Ibid: p.609 f

12) Bley.H. South West Africa under German rule p.120 and also M.F. Deckert: The causes of Herero uprising of 1904-6 in A.W.Cordier (ed.) The Deans papers p.254 ff

13) Ibid: p.254 f

14) Ibid: p.142

15) Ibid: p.149

16) Ibid: p.152

17) Ibid: p.155.

18) See Bley Op.Cit. p.162 the commentary of the German general command "Die kämpfe der Deuschen truppen im Sud west Afrika vol.1 p.207

19) Ibid: p.160

20) Ibid: p.167.

21) Bley Op.cit. Social discord p.610 and also Bley Op.cit. South West Africa p.150.

22) Deckert Op.cit. p.276

5.6.1 THE NAMA-HERERO WAR IN 12 SWEDISH DAILIES

1) "The DN" Tuesday August 8th, 1905 See the topic Herrekriget och Tyska riksdagen.

2) Ibid: Tuesday 22nd August, 1905

3) Ibid: August 24th, 1905 see the sub-headline Vaktombyte i Tyska Syd-Vast Afrika.

4) "The ST" Upproret i Tyska Sydvästafrika

5) Wednesday 20th, Sept, 1905 no 256 the rubric on "Tysklands afrikinska svårigheter "The SDB"

6) Ibid: 256 ff

7) Ibid: 256 f

8) "The NWT" Tuesday 15th Sept.1905 NO 56

9) Ibid May 1906. Even the infrigment of British territory by the German troops was raised by the conservative members of the British parliment, more especially by Lendsdale. The incident occured on the 14th May 1906.

10) Ibid: 1905 Sept, 25th Monday Upprorsrölsen i Tyska Sydvästafrika

12) "The AT" August 21, 1905 Monday. Tyska kolonial politik: Massakrerna i Sydvästafrika

13) "The SDB" Sept 20th 1905 no 254 Wednesday: Tysklands afrikinska svårigheter

5.6.1.1 A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE MAJI-MAJI UPRISING IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1905-1907

1) Iliffe.J. Tanzania under British and German rule, in Ogat and Kieran (eds.) Zamani: A survey of East African history p.290ff

2) Gwassa and Iliffe (eds.) Records of the Maji-Maji rising pp.6-7 and Zamani p.294 f see also: Iliffe.J. Tanzania under German rule. L.Cliff and J.S. Saul (eds.) Socialism in Tanzania (2.vols.) Cited from the politicaleconomy of contemporary Africa W.Gutkind and I. Wallesstein (eds.) In article by : G.Williams.Taking the part of peasants. Rural development in Nigeria and Tanzania p.132

3) Gwassa and Iliffe Op.cit; p.496

4) Ibid:p.9 and p.502 ff

5) Ibid: p.502 f

6) Iliffe. Op.Cit. p.312

5.6.2 THE MAJI-MAJI UPRISING IN 12 SWEDISH DAILIES

7) Of the 3-newspapers that had some news about the Maji-Maji uprising, only a total of 2cm contained such news elements from the period July 1905 -June 1906. The mean attention to issues was lowest here with 2%

8) Kyhn.G: The relationship between historical description and nationalism. A report presented at the Klarruu college of national education. Iringa Tanzania p.8

9) "The NT" August 25, 1905 Friday. Tyska Östafrika upproret växer

10) Ibid

11) "The ST" August 12, 1905: Upprorsrölsen i Tyska Östafrika

12) "The NWT" No 98 August 29, (Saturday) Uppropet i tyskaafrika

13) "The ST" May 1, 1906 Tyskerna i Östafrika

5.6.2.1 GENERAL SURVEY OF THE TORTURE AFFAIRS IN THE CONGO FREE STATE

14) Parliamentary papers: Africa no 4 (1885) Protocols and General act of the West African conference: Cited from H.R.Fox Bourne: Civilization in Congoland. p.52 A story of international wrong-doing

15) Anstey.R: King Leopold's legacy p.1 ff

16) Ibid: p.4

17) Bourne Op.cit. p.205

18) Ibid: p.210

19) Anestey Op.cit.p.12

20) Ibid: pp.14-16

21) Bourne Op.cit. pp.209-210

5.6.3 THE CONGO FREE STATE TORTURE AFFAIRS IN THE 12 SWEDISH DALIES

1) "The ST" June 11, 1906 Monday."Bättre ordning i Kongostaten"

2) "The GT" Sept.28, 1905. Thursday Grymheterna i Franska Congo. The Brazza report well clarified the exploitation system adopted by European traders in the Congo. The natives were often employed as load-carriers which often cost them their lives in the long walk on foot by land to far distant destinations by their European traders."Den hvita faran" Nya afslöjande från Kongo.

3) "The ST" November 6, 1905 Monday

4) "The AF.B February 23, 1906 Friday

5) "The AB" Feburary 19, 1906

6) Ibid

7) "The ST" November 6, 1905 Op.cit.

8) Wolfers A. Op.cit.p.47

CHAPTER

6. SOME CENTRAL CONCEPTS

1) Macgaffey: Concept of race in the historiography of north east Africa. Journal of African history no.7 p.4 see also Barzun Op.cit. p.11

2) Sutton: The settlements of east Africa to be found in Ogot.B & Kieran.J.Zamani: A survey of east African history pp.76-85

6.1. THE USE OF THE CONCEPT OF RACE DURING THE PERIOD

3) Macgaffey. Op.cit. pp.152-405

4) Chrismas.W: Under tropikal sol see the topic on Kong Peder p.82

5) Drewsen: Den sorte børn: Rejse fortaelling om negere. p.46

6) Fra det indre af Syd-Afrika pp.79-122 and p.136. Kvindelige missionarbedere (British mission literature) Fra Afrikaners kraal till Khames.

7) Cairns. Op.cit. p.281 and also the note 2

8) See: Stockholm's tidningen June 12, 1906 and Öster Götlands folkblad May 31.1906 no.62

9) Butler A.R: Ved Afrikas floder.Fra Kapstaden till Uganda p.9

10) Salomensen's article was largely based on the following works: Muller F. Allgemine Etnographie and O. Peschel: Völkerkunde Leipzig

11) See: Cust: Languages of Africa. pp.110-155 for further references Bourne Op.cit. pp.2-4

12) Ibid: pp.2-6 f

13) Ibid: p.522

14) Pory J. Translation of Leo Africanus. The Hakluyt society XCll-XClV

15) Sanders.E.R: The hamitic hypothesis:,its origin and functions in time perspective.Journal of African history, X 4 pp.523-528. The Dutch reformed church of South Africa has also spearheaded the same argument which has formed the basis of aparthied system in that white settlers nation. See Vouughusband "The Afrikaner spirit" Newsweek April.29, pp.14-15

16) Sanders Op.cit.p.525

17) Brinton D.G: Races and people see also Berg F. Läröbok i geografi för folk skolan pp.95-6

18) Sanders Op.cit. p.530

19) Bourne Op.cit.p.3

20) Langer.W.L: Op.cit. vol.2 p.539 one of the greatest designs of king Leopold II of Belgium was his dream of extending the power of the Congo state even to the east side of the Nile, but this dream was only a nightmare

21) Karlgren.A. Op.cit.

22) Ibid: pp.110-113

23) Ibid: p.115

24) Sanders Op.cit.p.532

25) Von Eschwege: A book of memoirs, the captancy of minas gerais: Eschwege himself learn't the art of iron smelting from the African slaves who worked the mines of Brazil with the art they carried with them from the western coast of Africa. Eschwege finally introduced this art into Sweden. For further reading see: Basil Davidson: Black mother Africa. The years of trial

6.2 THE CHILDS ANOLOGY

26) Political writings: By the Swedish association 1893-1902; see the article on the modern imperialism and the future of small states pp.12-33.See Langer Op.cit.vol.2

27)"Ny Tid" March 20, 1905, mopping up operation in Sokoto Nigeria and "Abetarbladet June 20, 1906: cleaning up operation of the blacks

28) Berg.F.Op.cit.p.97.See also Schwerin's papers, May 4, 1891 and Salmonsen konversationsleksikon vol.1 article on Africa by: C. Andersen p.265

29) Kamke.H.Op.cit.pp.57-69

30) Fanerholt.I. NMT (Nordiska Mission Tidningen) The first general conference pp.123-155 and p.210

31) Livingstone D. Op.cit. pp.382-385

32) Hj.Danell: Op.cit. pp.246-7 SCM Inspection tour to South Africa

33) Schwerin papers

34) Linblom.S: U-landbilden p.229

35) Klineberg.O.Characteristics of the American negro p.95

6.2.1 CIVILIZATION AND SAVAGERY

1) Kohl.K Op.cit. p.55

2) Oliver R.Op.cit p.11

3) Ibid: pp.129-230

4) Schwerin papers "Equality as an illusion"

5) Bourne Op.citp.36 and p.32

CHAPTER EXPLANATION,FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

7.

6) Tärnlund .A: Op.cit. pp.45-54. According to Strindberg, the Swedish colony was called "Cabo-Corso" which furnished Sweden with the following produce,palmoil, pepper,colour tree produce (dye) tobacco, sugar,elephant thorn and sand gold. This colony was later ceded to the Dutch after its capture from the commandant a German Tonuies Voss, around the middle of 1660's

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